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# ANNALS OF THE WEST:

1512-1846

EMBRACING A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF

Vol. 2

## PRINCIPAL EVENTS,

WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE

## WESTERN STATES AND TERRITORIES,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TO  
THE YEAR EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY.

COMPILED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

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AND PUBLISHED BY

JAMES R. ALBACH.

ST. LOUIS.

CHAMBERS & KNAPP, PRINTERS.

1852.



convince them that the United States require none of their lands.

The second, that we shall guaranty all that remain, and take the Indians under our protection.

Thirdly ; they must agree to the truce, and immediately to call in all their war parties. It will be in vain to be negotiating with them while they shall be murdering the frontier citizens.

Having happily effected a truce, founded on the above assurances, it will then be your primary endeavor to obtain from each of the hostile and neighboring tribes two of the most respectable chiefs, to repair to the seat of the Government, and there conclude a treaty with the President of the United States, in which all causes of difference should be buried forever.

You will give the chiefs every assurance of personal protection, while on their journey to Philadelphia, and, should they insist upon it, hostages of officers for the safe return of the chiefs, and, in case of their compliance, you will take every precaution by the troops for the protection of the said chiefs, which the nature of the case may require.

But if, after having used your utmost exertions, the chiefs should decline the journey to Philadelphia, then you will agree with them on a plan for a general treaty.\*

We have mentioned the invitation given in February by the Secretary of War to Brant to visit Philadelphia:—Some of his English friends urged the Mohawk by no means to comply with the request, but he had the independence to think and act for himself, and on the 20th of June appeared at the then Federal capital. He remained there ten or twelve days, and was treated by all with marked attention ; great pains were taken to make him understand the posture of affairs and the wishes of the United States ; and, in the hope that he would prove a powerful pacificator, on the 27th of June a letter was addressed to him by General Knox, laying before him the wishes of the Government, and making him another messenger of peace. The fact that five independent embassies, asking peace, were sent to the inimical tribes ; and the tone of the papers from which we have extracted so fully, will demonstrate, we think, the wish of the United States to do the aborigines entire justice. But the victories they had gained, and the favorable whispers of the British agents, closed the ears of the red men ; and all propositions for peace



were rejected in one form or another. Freeman, who left Fort Washington, April 7th; Trueman, who left it May 22d for the Maumee, and Colonel Hardin, who on the same day started for Sandusky, were all murdered; Trueman, it would seem, however, not by a body of Indians, but by a man and boy whom he met in hunting.\* Brant, from sickness or caution, did not attend the western council, as had been expected. Hendricks gave his message into the hands of Colonel McKee, and kept away from the gathering of the nations; and of the four individual messengers, Trueman, Brant, Hendricks, and Putnam, Putnam alone reached his goal. That gentleman left Marietta, upon the 26th of June, and on the 2d of July was at Fort Washington; here he heard of Indian hostilities at Fort Jefferson, and of the probability of Trueman's murder. He found also that it would be in vain to ask the chiefs, under any circumstances, to go to Philadelphia, and that it was extremely doubtful if they could be prevailed on to visit even Fort Washington. Under these circumstances, conceiving it desirable that some step should be taken at once, he determined to proceed to Fort Knox, (Post St. Vincent,) and there meet such of the Wabash leaders as could be got together, in the hope that they might at least be detached from the general league. This determination he carried into effect on the 17th of August, when, with several Indian prisoners to be restored to their friends, and presents for them beside, he left Cincinnati, and reached Vincennes in due time. Upon the 27th of September he formed a treaty with the Eel river tribe, the Weas, Illinois, Potawatomes, Musquitocs, Wabash Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, and Peorias. This treaty, however, was never ratified by the Senate, and proved practically of little or no use, although sixteen chiefs of the Wabash tribe were prevailed on to go to Philadelphia.†

[The council held at the mouth of the Auglaize, through the efforts of the Six Nations, did not produce the intended result. This council was one of the largest ever held by Indians. Besides the New York, Western, and Canadian Indians, there were present twenty-seven other nations; some from a great distance from the north-west.] On the 16th of

\* May's deposition. Brant's letters, (*American State Papers*, v. 244. 245;) also McKee's account sent Brant, (*Stone's Brant*, ii. 333.)

† *Stone*, ii. 334. *American State Papers*, v. 238, 239, 240; 319. 322. 338.





November the emissaries of the Iroquois gave an account of their doings to the agent for the United States and others, at Buffalo Creek, and the mode in which the information was communicated is so peculiar that we should transcribe the speech entire if our limits would permit.

. By this council, it appeared, everything was referred to another council, to be held in the spring, but with the clear intimation that the Ohio must be the boundary of the American lands, and that the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Harmar, must be regarded as null. Soon after this council broke up, on the 6th of November, Major Adair, commander of the mounted Kentucky infantry, was attacked by a body of savages in the neighborhood of St. Clair, twenty miles north of Fort Hamilton. The attack was sudden and violent, and with difficulty repelled. The officer in charge of the station, took no part in the conflict, as he had been strictly ordered by General Wilkinson to act only on the defensive, but Adair's men received ammunition from the fortress, and returned thither with their wounded. This action, however, together with other evidences of continued hostilities, did not prevent the United States from taking measures to meet the hostile tribes "at the rapids of the Miami (Maumee) when the leaves were fully out." For this purpose the President, at first, selected Charles Carroll and Charles Thompson, but as they declined the nomination, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Timothy Pickering were, on the first of March, 1793, appointed to attend the proposed meeting, which it was concluded should be held at Sandusky. On the 26th of April, the Commissioners received their instructions; on the 27th General Lincoln left Philadelphia for Niagara, by the way of New York; and on the 30th the other two started by the route through Pennsylvania, which led up the vallies of the Schuylkill, Susquehanna Lycoming and Coshocton, and across to Genesee. These, traveling more rapidly, for Lincoln, had the stores and baggage, reached Niagara on the 17th of May, and were at once invited by Lieutenant-General Simcoe to take up their residence at his seat, Navy Hall; with this invitation they complied and remained there until the 28th of June. The cause of this delay was the belief expressed by McKee and others, that the Indians would not be ready to meet the Commissioners before the last of June, as private



councils had first to be held among the various tribes.\* While resting in his Majesty's dominion, the ambassadors were nowise idle, and among other interesting documents, on the 7th of June, presented the following note to Governor Simcoe :

The commissioners of the United States, for making peace with the western Indians, beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe : that the very high importance of the negotiation committed to their management, makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success. That they have observed, with pleasure, the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians. But, all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expenses incurred by the British government, on this occasion, will, perhaps, be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the deep-rooted prejudices, and unfounded reports among the Indian tribes : for, the acts of a few bad men, dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace. As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk, from Grand River, *that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands.* The commissioners further observe, that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint ; for the views of government are perfectly fair. And, although it is impossible to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede, as far as shall be indispensable, and the existing state of things will admit ; and, for the lands retained, to make ample compensation. The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the commissioners wish to embrace every means to make them appear so to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions. Among these means, the commissioners consider the presence of some gentlemen of the army to be of consequence : for, although the Indians naturally look up to their superintendents as their patrons, yet the presence of some officers of the army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of peace. Independently of these considerations, the commissioners, for their own sakes, request the pleasure of their company. The commissioners, feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be

\* American State Papers, v. 343, where the Journal of the Commissioners is given ; also, Massachusetts Historical Collections, third series, vol. v. 190—196, where General Lincoln's Journal is given, together with a drawing of the conference at Niagara, July 7th, made by Colonel Pilkington, of the British army : this is also given in Stone's Brant, ii.



happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it, which his situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Harmar, render it impossible now to make that river the boundary. The expression of his opinion, on this point in particular, will give them great satisfaction.\*

To this note the following answer was sent :

Colonel Simcoe, commanding the King's forces in Upper Canada, has the honor, in answer to the paper delivered to him this morning by the Commissioners of the U. States for making peace with the western Indians, to state to those gentlemen, that he is duly impressed with the serious importance of the negotiation committed to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every proper means that may tend to its success. He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power, to assist in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty. He is perfectly aware that unfounded reports and deep-rooted prejudices have arisen among the Indian tribes : but whether from the acts of a few bad men living among them, he cannot pretend to say. But, he must observe, upon the instance given by the Commissioners, of one of "those unfounded reports, that a Mohawk from the Grand river should say, that Gov. Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands," it is of that nature that cannot be true ; the Indians, as yet, not having applied for his advice on the subject : and it being a point, of all others, on which they are the least likely to consult the British officers commanding in Upper Canada. Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the Commissioners, some officers to attend the treaty ; and, therefore, in addition, to the gentlemen appointed to control the delivery of the British provisions, &c., he will desire Captain Bunbury, of the fifth regiment, and Lieutenant Givens, who has some knowledge of one of the Indian languages, to accompany the Commissioners. Colonel Simcoe can give the Commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the speeches of the confederate nations, of which General Hull has authentic copies. But, as it has been, ever since the conquest of Canada, the principle of the British Government to unite the American Indians, that, all petty jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence of all the treaties made with them, may have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, so,



he feels it proper to state to the Commissioners, that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the agents of the United States, appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the confederacy.\*

On the day before this correspondence, the six Quakers, who, both by their own request, and that of the Indians, had accompanied the deputation, together with Heckewelder and others, sailed for Detroit to learn how matters stood; and on the 26th of the month the Commissioners themselves, receiving no news from Sandusky, prepared to embark for the mouth of Detroit river. On the 15th of July, while still detained by head winds, Colonel Butler,† Brant and some fifty natives, arrived from the Maumee, and two days after, in the presence of the Governor, Brant thus addressed the Americans:—

Brothers: We have met to-day our brothers, the Bostonians and English; we are glad to have the meeting, and think it is by the appointment of the Great Spirit. Brothers of the United States: We told you the other day, at Fort Erie, that, at another time, we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. We now inform you that it is because there is so much of the appearance of war in that quarter. Brothers: We have given the reason for our not meeting you; and now we request an explanation of those warlike appearances. Brothers: The people you see here are sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands north of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart. Brothers: We have come to speak to you for two reasons: one, because your warriors being in our neighborhood, have prevented our meeting at the appointed place: the other, to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the U. States, and the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place. Brothers: We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom, in time of danger, we expect assistance.‡

On the following day the Commissioners replied:

Brothers: You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place. One, to obtain an explanation of the war-like appearances on the part of the United States on the north-western side of the Ohio; the other, to learn wheth-

\* American State Papers, v. 347.

† The commander of the Tories at Wyoming, afterwards Indian Agent.

‡ American State Papers, v. 344.





er we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours. Brothers: On the first point we cannot but express our extreme regret, that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country north of the Ohio, during the treaty at Sandusky. Brothers: We are deputed by the Great Chief and the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief and his Great Council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we were sitting round the same fire with you, in order to make peace? Is it possible that our Great Chief and his Council could act so deceitfully towards us, their Commissioners, as well as towards you? Brothers: We think it not possible; but we will quit arguments and come to facts. Brothers: We assure you, that our Great Chief, Genral Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, Gen. Wayne, to that effect. But, brothers, our Great Chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the treaty and prolong the war, that, besides giving the above orders to his head warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several States adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia we have here in our hands. Brothers: If, after all these precautions of our Great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope and believe that none such can be found.

Brothers: After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty. Brothers: We now come to the second point: whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours. Brothers: we answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line should run, will be the great subject of discussion at the treaty between you and us: and we sincerely hope and expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true



reconciliation can be effected. Brothers: We wish you to understand us clearly on this head; for we mean that all our proceedings should be made with candor. We therefore repeat and say explicitly that some concession will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace. Brothers: After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just. Brothers: You told us that you represent the nations of Indians who own the lands north of the Ohio, and whose Chiefs are now assembled at the Rapids of the Maumee. Brothers: It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the numbers of the Chiefs of each so assembled. Brothers: We once more turn our eyes to your representation of warlike appearances in your country; to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you as soon as our council at this place is ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you; but to remain quietly at his posts until the event of the treaty shall be known.\*

To the inquiry made by the Agents of the United States as to tribes, Brant said,—

Yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations, and numbers of Chiefs assembled at the Maumee; but, as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it the following nations were there, to wit: Five Nations, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, Munsees, Miamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies. Nantikokies, Mingoes, Cherokees,—the principal men of these were there.

The jealousy of the Indians as to the hostile movements was owing to the fact, that Wayne was at this time gathering horses and cattle, and cutting roads in the heart of the contested country, beyond Fort Jefferson, within three days journey of the Indian head quarters.†

His "Legion" had passed the winter of 1792-3 at Legionville, and there remained until the last of April, 1793, when it was taken down the river to Cincinnati, where it encamped near Fort Washington, and there it continued until October,

\* American State Papers, v. 349.

† American State Papers, v. 350. 351.



engaged merely in drilling and preparations, the Commander-in-Chief having been directed by the Executive to issue a proclamation, forbidding all hostile movements north of the Ohio until the northern Commissioners were heard from. This proclamation was issued, and the country remained tranquil, although, as we have said, preparations were made for action in case it should finally become needful.

General Wayne, after encountering many obstacles, was perfecting the discipline of his soldiers at "Hobson's choice." [This place was in the vicinity of Cincinnati, and so called, because, from extreme high water, the Legion was prevented from landing elsewhere.] Here he made efforts to get forward mounted volunteers from Kentucky, who, after the experience of 1790 and 1791, could not be had, so strong was their repugnance to serve with regulars—the Commissioners had crossed Lake Erie, and on the 21st of July took up their quarters at the house of the famous or infamous Captain Matthew Elliott, at the mouth of the Detroit river.\* On the day of their arrival, they wrote to Colonel McKee, asking him to hasten the proposed meeting at Sandusky, which he promised to do. On the 29th of July, twenty Indians arrived from the Rapids to see the Commissioners; and on the three following days the white and red men met in Council—Simon Girty acting as interpreter. It seemed the confederacy were not satisfied with the meeting between Brant and the Commissioners at Niagara, and now wished to know distinctly, and merely, if the United States would or would not make the Ohio the boundary. To this inquiry, the Commissioners replied, (July 31,) in writing, setting forth the American claims, the grounds of them, and the impossibility of making the Ohio the line of settlement. The answers to this communication, one of which was delivered orally on the spot, and the other on the 16th of August, in writing, are so characteristic and able, that on this account, as well as because they were the *ultima* of the Indians in this negotiation, we give entire.

Brothers: We are all brothers you see here now. Brothers: It is now three years since you desired to speak with us. We heard you yesterday, and understood you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you. Brothers: You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek,† and other places.

\* American State Papers, v. 342. 359. 360.—American Pioneer, i. 293.—Butler, 221.

† Fort McIntosh.



Those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands. They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us. Brothers: Many years ago, we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours. We look upon it as our property. Brothers: You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and your people on our land. You say you cannot move them off: and we cannot give up our land. Brothers: We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago. Brothers: We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington.

The council here breaking up, Captain Elliott went to the Shawanese chief Ka-kia-pilathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. The chief came back and said it was wrong. Girty said that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place; and Girty added as follows: "Brothers: Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors."\*

The head warriors having been consulted, the final message came in these words—

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.*—Brothers: We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully; having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers: You tell us that, after you had made peace with the King, our father, about ten years ago, 'it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations, who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;' and, after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, 'Brothers, the Commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general





council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.'

"Brothers: This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: That they went to your Commissioners to make peace; but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

"Brothers: You then say, 'after some time it appears that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami, therefore, the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner, with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, relating to trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the Falls of the Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out: so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh: some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.' Now, brothers, these are your words; and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

"Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your Commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederated Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, and after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless, persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch



of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever.

"Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your Commissioner was informed, long before he had the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States. The part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

"Brothers: You say 'the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. And, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods, as was never given, at any one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this island. And, because these lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessities, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And, therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children.'

"Brothers: Money to us, is of no value; and to most of us unknown; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

"Brothers: We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and, as we are persuaded, they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the land you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

"Brothers: You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.



"Brothers: You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it; we mean in the acknowledgment you now have made, that the King of England never did, nor never had a right to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions; and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

"Brothers: You have talked, also, a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king, at the treaty of peace.

"Brothers: We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us; we have never parted with such a power.

"Brothers: At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio, and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther; because the country behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants: and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

"Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

*Nations.*

Wyandots,

Seven Nations, of Canada,

Miamies,

Ottawas,

Mohicans,

Connoys,



Potawatomies,	Messasagoes,	Delawares,
Senecas of the Glaize,	Chippewas,	Nantakokies,
Shawanese,	Munsees,	Creeks,
Cherokees.*		

This, of necessity, closed the attempts of the United States to make peace ; some few further efforts were made to secure the Iroquois to the cause of America, but they ended in nothing ; and from the month of August, the preparations for a decision by arms of the questions pending between the white and red men went forward constantly.

But it is natural to ask what causes led the north-western savages thus to stake their very existence upon the contest, when terms so liberal were offered by their opponents. We answer—first, their previous success did much ; and secondly, they hoped for the aid of Britain, and at length of Spain also, on their side.

For several years, said Brant, we were engaged in getting a confederacy formed, and the unanimity occasioned by these endeavors among our western brethren, enabled them to defeat two American armies. The war continued without our brothers, the English, giving any assistance, except a little ammunition ; and they seeming to desire that a peace might be concluded, we tried to bring it about at a time that the United States desired it very much, so that they sent commissioners from among their first people, to endeavor to make peace with the hostile Indians. We assembled also for that purpose at the Miami river in the summer of 1793, intending to act as mediators in bringing about an honorable peace ; and if that could not be obtained, we resolved to join our western brethren in trying the fortune of war. But to our surprise, when upon the point of entering upon a treaty with the commissioners, we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government, and hopes of farther assistance were given to our western brethren, to encourage them to insist on the Ohio as a boundary between them and the United States.†

Through Elliott, McKee and Butler, this confidence in English aid was thus excited among the savages, before their final refusal of the generous terms offered by Washington ; and soon after, the higher functionaries endorsed the representa-

\*American State Papers, v. 356.

†Stone, ii. 353.





tions of their subordinates. In February, 1794, Lord Dorchester, addressing the deputies from the council of 1793, said:

Children:—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children:—I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but have not heard one word from them.

Children:—I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, *which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed*, would have been mended, or a new one drawn, in an amicable manner. Here, also, I have been disappointed.

Children:—Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States rush on, and act, and talk on this side; and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.

Children:—You talk of selling your lands to the State of New York. I have told you that there is no line between them and us. I shall acknowledge no lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783. They then broke the peace, as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

Children:—They then destroyed their right of pre-emption. Therefore, all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the King's rights. And when a line is drawn between us, be it in peace or war, they must lose all their improvements and houses on our side of it. Those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will, of course, be secured and confirmed to them.

Children:—What farther can I say to you? You are witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted.\*

\* The authenticity of of this speech has been questioned; it was doubted at the time even. George Clinton of New York sent the proof of its genuineness to George Washington, March 20th, 1794, and both he and the President thought it authentic. Judge Marshall (*Life of Washington*, v. 535) states it as not authentic, and Sparks (*Washington Papers*, x. 394, note) seems to agree with him; but Mr. Stone found among Brant's papers a certi-



And when, during the summer of 1794, there was a contest between the United States and the Six Nations, relative to the erection of a fort by the former at Presqu'île (Erie) on Lake Erie, Brant, in writing to the British authorities, on the 19th of July, says—

In regard to the Presqu'île business, should we not get an answer at the time limited, it is our business to push those fellows hard, and therefore it is my intention to form my camp at Pointe Appineau; and I would esteem it a favor if his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor would lend me four or five batteaux. Should it so turn out, and should those fellows not go off, and O'Bail continue in the same opinion, an expedition against those Yankees must of consequence take place.

His Excellency has been so good as to furnish us with a hundred weight of powder, and ball in proportion, which is now at Fort Erie; but in the event of an attack upon Le Bœuf people, I could wish, if consistent, that his Excellency would order a like quantity in addition to be at Fort Erie, in order to be in readiness; likewise I would hope for a little assistance in provision.

But the conduct of England, in sending, as she did, Governor Simcoe in the month of April, 1794, to the rapids of the Maumee, there, within the acknowledged territories of the United States, to erect a fort, was the strongest assurance that could have been given to the north-western tribes, that she would espouse their quarrel. In May of 1794, a messenger from the Mississippi provinces of Spain also appeared in the north-west, offering assistance.†

Children! (he said) you see me on my feet, grasping the tomahawk to strike them. We will strike together. I do not desire you to go before me, in the front, but to follow me.

Children:—I present you with a war-pipe, which has been sent in all our names to the Musquakies, and all those nations who live towards the setting sun, to get upon their feet and take hold of our tomahawk: and as soon as they smoked it, they sent it back with a promise to get immediately on their feet, and join us, and strike this enemy.

Children—You hear what these distant nations have said to us, so that we have nothing farther to do but put our designs into immediate execution, and to forward this pipe to

fed MS. copy, from which the above extracts are taken, (Stone's Brant, ii. 368, note); and Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, in May, 1794, acknowledged it to be genuine. (American State Papers, i. 462. See also v. 480.)

† American State Papers, v. 503 to 524, and 484, 487. Stone's Brant, ii. 330.



the three warlike nations who have so long been struggling for their country, and who now sit at the Glaize. Tell them to smoke this pipe, and forward it to all the lake Indians and their northern brethren. Then nothing will be wanting to complete our general union from the rising to the setting of the sun, and all nations will be ready to add strength to the blow we are going to make.\*

The explanation of the conduct above related on the part of England, is not difficult. In March, 1793, Great Britain and Russia had united for the purpose of cutting off all the commerce of revolutionary France, in the hope thereby of conquering her. In June, the court of St. James, in accordance with this agreement, issued orders—

To stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with *corn, flour, or meal*, bound to any port of France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour might be purchased on behalf of his majesty's government, and the ships to be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight; or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by the court of admiralty, be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, flour, in the ports of any country in amity with his majesty.†

Against this proceeding the United States protested, while England justified the measure as a very mild application of international law. On both sides great irritation prevailed, and during this period it was that the various acts of Governor Simcoe and others took place.

As for Spain, she had long been fearful and jealous of the western colonists; she had done all in her power to sow dissensions between the Americans and the southern Indians, and now hoped to cripple her Anglo-Saxon antagonist by movements at the north.

But the Americans were in nowise disposed to yield even to this "Hydra," as General Wayne called it, of Indian, British, and Spanish enmity. On the 16th of August, 1793, the final messages took place between the American commissioners and the Indians, at the mouth of Detroit river; on the 17th, the commissioners left Captain Elliott's; on the 23d,

\* MS. among the Brant Papers. Stone, ii. 375.

† Pitkin's U. S., ii. 396.



reached Fort Erie, near Niagara; upon the same day they sent three letters to General Wayne, by three distinct channels, advising him of the issue of the negotiations.\* Wayne, encamped at his "Hobson's choice," and contending with the unwillingness of Kentuckians to volunteer in connection with regular troops,—with fever, influenza and desertion,—was struggling hard to bring his army to such form and consistency as would enable him to meet the enemy with confidence. On the 5th of October, he writes that he cannot hope to have, deducting the sick and those left in garrison, more than 2,600 regular troops, 360 mounted volunteers, and 36 guides and spies, to go with him beyond Fort Jefferson; but he adds—

This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately, to save the frontiers from impending savage fury.

I will, therefore, advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check (by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children) until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

The present apparent tranquility on the frontiers, and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me, that the enemy are collected or collecting in force, to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or manœuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

They cannot continue long embodied for want of provision and at their breaking up they will most certainly make some desperate effort upon some quarter or other; should the mounted volunteers advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty savages to sue for peace, before the next opening of the leaves. Be that as it may, I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President, or yourself, on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of Government, (which I will support with my latest breath) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily; and unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position in advance of

\*American State Papers, v. 304, 308, 325, 357, 360.





Jefferson, and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders.\*

On the 7th the legion left Cincinnati, and upon the 13th, without any accident, encamped upon the "strong position" above referred to,† Here, upon the 24th of October, he was joined by one thousand mounted Kentucky volunteers under Gen. Scott, to whom he had written pressing requests to hasten forward with all the men he could muster. This request Scott hastened to comply with, and the Governor upon the 28th of September, had ordered, in addition, a draft of militia. The Kentucky troops, however, were soon dismissed again, until spring; but their march had not been in vain, for they had seen enough of Wayne's army to give them confidence in it and in him; and upon their return home, spread that confidence abroad, so that the full number of volunteers, was easily procured in the spring.‡

One attack had been made upon the troops previous to the 23d of October, and only one; a body of two commissioned and ninety non-commissioned officers and soldiers, conveying twenty wagons of supplies, was assaulted on the 17th, seven miles beyond Fort St. Clair, and Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd, with thirteen others, were killed. Although so little opposition had thus far been encountered, however, Wayne determined to stay where he was, for the winter, and having 70,000 rations on hand in October, with the prospect of 120,000 more, while the Indians were sure to be short of provisions, he proceeded to fortify his position; which he named Fort Greenville, and which was situated upon the spot now occupied by the town of that name.§ This being done on the 23d or 24th of December, a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. They arrived upon the spot upon Christmas day. "Six hundred skulls," says one present, "were gathered up and buried; when we went to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the

\* American State Papers, v. 360.

†See in American Pioneer, ii. 290, plate and account of Wayne's mode of encampment. Also in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 55, a journal of the march.

‡Marshall, ii. 83, 84.

§American State Papers, v. 361.



bones together and carry them out, to make our beds.”\* Here was built Fort Recovery, which was properly garrisoned, and placed under the charge of Captain Alexander Gibson. During the early months of 1794, Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing everything for a sure blow when the time came, and by means of Captain Gibson and his various spies, kept himself informed of the plans and movements of the savages. All his information showed the faith in British assistance which still animated the doomed race of red men; thus, two Pottawatomies, taken by Captain Gibson, June 5th, in reply to various questions, answered as follows :

Q.—When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

A.—On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs, a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

Q.—What was the message brought by those Indians chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout, (foot of rapids of the Maumee,) on the 1st of May?

A.—That the British sent them to invite the Pottawatomies to go to war against the United States; that they, the British, were then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there were about four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification round Colonel McKee's house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing and provision with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join and go with them to war.

Q.—What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at Roche de Bout on the 1st of May?

A.—The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares and Miamies. There were then collected about one thousand warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations.

Q.—What number of warriors do you suppose actually collected at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

A.—By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than two thousand warriors now assem-

\*American Pioneer, i. 294. Letter of George Will.—Dillon's Indians, i. 360—American State Papers, i. 458. gives Wayne's statement.



bled; and were the Pottawatomies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upwards of three thousand hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than fifty of the Pottawatomies will go to war.

The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to fifteen hundred, agreeably to the promise of Gov. Simcoe.

Q.—At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

A.—About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Governor Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pottawatomies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provisions, and clothing, and every thing they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans; and that he would command the whole.

He sent us the same message last winter; and again, on the first of the last moon, from Roche de Bout; he also said he was much obliged to us for our past services; and that he would now help us to fight, and render us all the services in his power, against the Americans.

All the speeches that we have received from him, were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red.

We received four different invitations from Governor Simcoe, inviting the Pottawatomies to join in the war; the last was on the first of last moon, when he promised to join us with 1500 of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wished for peace; except a few of our foolish young men.

Examined, and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.\*

A couple of Shawanese warriors, captured June 22d, were less sanguine as to their white allies, but still say that which proves the dependence of Indian action upon English promises. As their evidence gives some *data* relative to the Indian forces, as well as the temper of the western tribes, we extract nearly the whole of it.

They say that they left Grand Glaize five moons since, i. e. about the time that the Indians sent in [i. e. to Wayne; the provisions could not be accepted] a flag, with propositions of peace.

That they belonged to a party of twenty, who have been hunting all this spring on the waters of the Wabash, nearly



opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and were on their return when taken. That, on their way in, they met with a party consisting of four Indians, i. e. three Delawares and one Pottawatomie, who were then on their way to the Big-bone Lick, to steal horses; that this party informed them that all the Indians on White river were sent for to come immediately to Grand Glaize, where the warriors of several nations were now assembled; that the chiefs are yet in council, and would not let their warriors go out; that they could not depend upon the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on like dogs after game, pressing them to go to war, and kill the Americans, but did not help them; that unless the British would turn out and help them, they were determined to make peace; that they would not be any longer amused by promises only.

That the Shawanese have 380 warriors at, and in the vicinity of Grand Glaize; and generally can, and do, bring into action, about 300. Their great men, or sachems, are the Black Wolf, and Kakia-pi-la-thy, or Tame Hawk; their principal warriors are Blue Jacket, and Captain Johnny; that the Delawares have in and about Grand Glaize, 480 warriors; that they actually had four hundred in the action against St. Clair; that the Miamies are at present but about one hundred warriors, who live near Grand Glaize, several of them having removed towards Post Vincennes, and by the Mississippi; that the Wyandots never send into action more than about one hundred and fifty warriors; they live along the lake, towards Sandusky; they don't know the number of the Pottawatomies, nor the number of the other Indians or nations that would actually join in war, should they determine to continue it; that the Chippewas would be the most numerous, and were generally on their way to the council; but that war or peace depended on the conduct of the British; if they would help them, it would probably be war, but if they would not, it would be peace; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs, by themselves, unless the British would help them to fight; that the British were at the foot of the rapids, and had fortified at Roche de Bout; that there were a great number of British soldiers at that place; that they told the Indians they were now come to help them to fight; and if the Indians would generally turn out and join them, they would advance





and fight the American army ; that Blue Jacket had been sent by the British to the Chippewas, and northern Indians, a considerable time since, to invite them, and bring them to Roche de Bout, there to join the British and other hostile Indians, in order to go to war.\*

And the conduct of the savages proved these tales not to be fables : on the 30th of June, Fort Recovery, the advanced American post, was assaulted by the Little Turtle, at the head of one thousand to one thousand five hundred warriors ; and although repelled, the assailants rallied and returned to the charge, and kept up the attack through the whole of that day, and a part of the following. Nor was this assailing force entirely composed of natives ; General Wayne, in his despatch, says, his spies " report a great number of white men with the Indians ;" and again they insist—

There were a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault ; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers, who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept a distance in the rear of those that were engaged.

Another strong corroborating fact, says General Wayne, that there were British, or British militia, in the assault, is, that a number of ounce balls and buck shot were lodged in the block-houses and stockades of the fort. Some were delivered at so great a distance as not to penetrate, and were picked up at the foot of the stockades.

It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former berth. It was in this artful manner that we generally found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the fourth of November, 1791.

I, therefore, have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post ; fortunately, they served in its defence.†

On the 26th of July, Scott, with some sixteen hundred

\* American State Papers, v. 439.

† American State Papers, v. 483.



mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville,\* and on the 28th the legion moved forward.† On the 8th of August, the army was near the junction of Auglaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance, where the rivers meet.‡ The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army from a runaway member of the Quarter master's corps, who was afterwards taken at Pittsburgh. It had been Wayne's plan to reach the head-quarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this, he had caused two roads to be cut, one towards the foot of the rapids, (Roche de Bout,) the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two; and this stratagem, he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to.§ While engaged upon Fort Defiance, the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians, and the aid they would receive from the volunteers of Detroit and elsewhere; he learned the nature of the ground, and the circumstances favorable and unfavorable; and upon the whole, considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. But yet, true to the last, to the spirit of compromise and peace, so forcibly taught by Washington, on the 13th of August he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanese, and had been taken prisoner on the 11th, by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship in these words :

*To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, and Wyandots, and to each and every of them, and to all other nations of Indians, north-west of the Ohio, whom it may concern :*

I, Anthony Wayne, Major General and Commander-in-chief of the federal army now at Grand Glaize, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes, or nations of Indians north-west of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing

\* Marshall, ii. 136.

† American Pioneer, i. 315, Daily Journal of Wayne's army.

‡ See American Pioneer, ii. 387, for plan and account of Fort Defiance.

§ Wayne's letter of August 14th. (American State Papers, v. 490.)



men have led you, from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand of peace towards you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribe of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you, the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and Auglaize rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine, during the present fall and ensuing winter.

The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation.

And, to remove any doubts or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the deputies whom you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawanee, and a Shawanee warrior, whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance in their front to meet me.

Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors, six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

But, should this invitation be disregarded, and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained, or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death, without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nation.

Brothers :—Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the Rapids ; they have neither power nor inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this overture of peace. But, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood ; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquility.\*

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Grand Glaize, August 13th, 1794.

Unwilling to waste time, the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning, with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize,



they (the Indians) would decide for peace or war;\* which Wayne replied to only by marching straight on. On the 18th, the legion had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize, and being near the long-looked for foe, began to throw up some light works called Fort Deposit, wherein to place the heavy baggage during the expected battle. On that day, five of Wayne's spies, among whom was May, the man who had been sent after Trueman and had pretended to desert to the Indians, rode into the very camp of the enemy; in attempting to retreat again, May's horse fell and he was taken. The next day, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree and shot at as a target.† During the 19th, the army still labored on their works: on the 20th, at seven or eight o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee—

The legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the Legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at

\* American Pioneer, i. 317.

† American Pioneer, i. 52, 318.—American State Papers, v. 243.





the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary eavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being drove in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their number. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure, and the most lively gratitude. Among whom, I must beg leave to mention Brigadier General Wilkinson, and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butt and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. \* \* \*

Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than that of the Federal army. The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

We remained three days and nights on the banks of the



Maumee, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of the garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores and property of Col. McKee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to this place (Fort Defiance) on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Maumec. There remains yet a great number of villages and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed, upon the Auglaize and the Maumee above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days.\*

The loss of the Americans in this action was thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded, including twenty-one officers, of whom, however, but five were killed.

The army remained at Fort Defiance, busily engaged in strengthening the works, until September 14th, when it marched for the Miami villages at the junction of the St. Joseph and the St. Mary, to build the fortress called Fort Wayne, which, when completed on the 22d of October, was named by Colonel Hamtramck, who was placed in command. During this time the troops suffered much from sickness, and also from want of flour and salt; the latter article sold on the 24th of September, for six dollars a pint.\* On the 28th of October the Legion began its return march to Greenville, the volunteers, who had become dissatisfied and troublesome, having been dispatched to that post for dismissal on the 12th of that month. During this time, (on the 11th or 13th) a brother of the Canadian taken in the action of August 20th, came to General Wayne with three Americans whom he had bought from the Indians, to exchange for his captive relation: the exchange was agreed to, and the messenger induced to make the following statement:

Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, arrived at Fort Miami, at the foot of the Rapids, on the 30th ultimo, (September;) Brant had with him one hundred Indians, Mohawks and Messasagoes.

\*American State Papers, v. 491.—See the English account of the battle in Weld's Travels, ii. 211.

† American Pioneer, i. 354.



Governor Simcoe sent for the chiefs of the different hostile Indians, and invited them to meet him at the mouth of Detroit river, eighteen miles below Detroit, to hold a treaty; Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, together with Blue Jacket, Backongeles, the Little Turtle, Captain Johnny, and other chiefs of the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, Tawas, and Pottawatomies, set out accordingly, for the place assigned for the treaty, about the 1st instant: the Indians are well and regularly supplied with provisions from the British magazines, at a place called Swan Creek, near Lake Erie.

Previously to the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Blue Jacket, the Shawanese chiefs, two of the principal chief of the Tawas, and the principal chiefs of the Pottawatomies, had agreed to accompany him, the said ———, with a flag to this place.

Blue Jacket informed him, after the arrival of Simcoe, he would not now go with him, until after the intended treaty; but that his wishes, at present, were for peace; that he did not know what propositions Governor Simcoe had to make them, but that he and all the chiefs would go and hear; and, in the interim, desired him, the said ———, to inquire of General Wayne in what manner the chiefs should come to him, and whether they would be safe, in case they should determine on the measure, after the treaty with Simcoe, and after the said ——— should return to Detroit: had it not been for the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, with his Indians, he is confident the chiefs, already mentioned, would have accompanied him to this place, at this time, as before related.\*

This communication was further confirmed by statements from the Wyandots, some of whom were in the American interest.† Indeed it appeared afterwards that on the 10th of October the Indians met the British at the Big Rock, and were advised that their griefs would be laid before the King; and in connection with this, as General Wayne learned from the friendly Wyandots,—

Governor Simcoe insisted, that the Indians should not listen to any terms of peace from the Americans, but to propose a truce, or suspension of hostilities, until the spring, when a grand council and assemblage of all the warriors and tribes of Indians should take place, for the purpose of compelling the Americans to cross to the east side of the Ohio; and in the interim, advised every nation to sign a deed or convey-

\* American State Papers, v. 526.

† American State Papers, v. 543, 527.



ance of all their lands, on the west side of the Ohio, to the King, in trust for the Indians, so as to give the British a pretext or color for assisting them, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of that river; and which the Indians should warn them to do, immediately after they, the Indians, were assembled in force in the spring, and to call upon the British to guaranty the lands thus ceded in trust, and to make a general attack upon the frontiers at the same time: that the British would be prepared to attack the Americans, also, in every quarter, and would compel them to cross the Ohio, and to give up the lands to the Indians.

Captain Brant also told them, to keep a good heart, and be strong; to do as their father advised; that he would return home, for the present, with his warriors, and come again early in the spring, with an additional number, so as to have the whole summer before them, to fight, kill, and pursue the Americans, who could not possibly stand against the force and numbers that would be opposed to them; that he had been always successful, and would insure them victory. But that he would not attack the Americans at this time, as it would only put them upon their guard, and bring them upon the Indians in this quarter, during the winter; therefore he advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until they should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected.

That, agreeably to this plan or advice, the real hostile tribes will be sending flags frequently during the winter, with propositions of peace, but this is all fraud and art, to put the Americans off their guard.

The British made large presents to the Indians at the late council, and continued to furnish them with provision from Colonel McKee's new stores, near the mouth of the Miamies of Lake Erie, where all the Indians are hutted or in tents, whose towns and property were destroyed last summer, and who will sign away their lands, and do exactly what the British request them; this was the general prevailing opinion at the breaking up of the council; since which period, the message and propositions of the 5th November, addressed to the different tribes of Indians proposing the treaty of the 9th of January, 1789, held at the mouth of Muskingum, as a preliminary upon which a permanent peace should be established, has been communicated to them; upon which, a considerable number of the chiefs of several of the tribes assembled again, and were determined to come forward to treat, say about the first of this moon. But Colonel McKee was informed of it, and advised them against the measure, and to be faithful to their father, as they had promised. He then made them additional





presents, far beyond any thing that they had ever heretofore received, which inclined a majority to adhere to Governor Simcoe's propositions, and they returned home accordingly.

That, notwithstanding this, the chiefs and nations are much divided, some for peace, and some for war; the Wyandots of Sandusky are for peace; those near Detroit for war; the Delawares are equally divided, so are the Miamies, but are dependent upon the British for provision; the Shawanese and Tawas are for war; the Pottawatomies and Chippewas are gone home, sore from the late action.

That such of the chiefs and warriors as are inclined for peace, will call a council, and endeavor to bring it about, upon the terms proposed, as they wish to hold their lands under the Americans, and not under the British, whose title they do not like.\*

News also came from the West that the Indians were crossing the Mississippi; in New York, on the 11th of November, Pickering made a new treaty with the Iroquois; while in the north fewer and fewer of the savages lurked about Forts Defiance and Wayne. Nor was it long before the wish of the natives to make peace became still more apparent; on the 28th and 29th of December, the Chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawatomies, and Miamies, came with peace messages to Col. Hamtramck,† at Fort Wayne, and on the 24th of January, 1795, at Greenville, entered, together with the Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese, into preliminary articles with the Commander-in-chief. The truth was, the red men had been entirely disappointed in the conduct of their white allies after the action of the 20th of August; as Brant said, "a fort had been built in their country under pretence of giving refuge in case of necessity, but when that time came, the gates were shut against them as enemies."‡ During the winter, Wayne having utterly laid waste their fertile fields, the poor savages were wholly dependent on the English who did not half supply them; their cattle and dogs died, and they were themselves nearly starved. Under these circumstances, losing faith in the English, and at last impressed with a respect for American power after the carnage ex-

\* American State Papers, v. 548, 550, 559, 566, 567.

† See his letters to Wayne.—American Pioneer, ii. 389 to 392.

‡ Stone's Brant, ii. 390. Several Mohawks were probably engaged in the battle of August 20th, and Brant would have been with them but for sickness.—[Stone ii. 390, note.]



perienced at the hands of the "Black Snake," the various tribes, by degrees, made up their minds to ask for peace; during the winter and spring they exchanged prisoners, and made ready to meet Gen. Wayne at Greenville, in June, for the purpose of forming a definite treaty, as it had been agreed should be done by the preliminaries of January 24th. One scene among the many of that time seems deserving of a transfer to our pages; it is from the narrative of John Brickell, who had been a captive for four years among the Delawares, and adopted into the family of Whingwy Pooshies, or Big Cat, a noted warrior of that tribe.\*

On the breaking up of spring, Brickell says, we all went up to Fort Defiance, and, on arriving on the shore opposite, we saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day, Whingwy Pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung round me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them? I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort, and were seated with the officers, Whingwy Pooshies told me to stand up, which I did; he then rose and addressed me in about these words: "My son, there are men the same color with yourself. There may be some of your kin there, or your kin may be a great way off from you. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you? If I have not used you as a father would use a son?" I said, "You have used me as well as a father could use a son." He said, "I am glad you say so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it, and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind."

I was silent a few minutes, in which time it seemed as if I almost thought of every thing. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people which I remembered; and this latter thought predominated, and I said, "I will go with my kin." The old man then said, "I have raised you—I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter—you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age. I leaned on you as a staff. Now it is broken—you are going

\* Brickell's Narrative. American Pioneer, i. 53. Stone's Brant, ii. 339. American State Papers, v. 520. Heckewelder's Narrative, 405. American Pioneer, i. 54. Speech of Buckongehelas. American State Papers, v. 582.



to leave me and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined." He then sank back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears—parted with him, and have never seen nor heard of him since.\*

During the month of June, the representatives of the north-western tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month, Wayne met in council, the Delawares, Ottowas, Pottawatomies, and Eel river Indians; and the conferences, which lasted till August 10th, commenced. On the 21st of June, Buckongehelas arrived; on the 23d, the Little Turtle and other Miamies; on the 13th of July, Tarke and other Wyandot Chiefs reached the appointed spot; and upon the 18th, Blue Jacket with thirteen Shawanese, and Massass with twenty Chippewas. Most of these, as it appeared by their statements, had been tampered with by McKee, Brant and other English Agents,† even after they had agreed to the preliminaries of January 24th, and while Mr. Jay's treaty was still under discussion.‡ They had, however, all determined to make a permanent peace with the Thirteen Fires, and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and of the Chiefs prevented it, and upon the 30th of July the treaty was agreed to which was to bury the hatchet forever. Between that day and the 3d of August it was engrossed, and having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, on the 7th was finally acted upon, and the presents from the United States distributed forthwith. While the Council was in session, some mischief had been done in Virginia by a band of Shawanese, but on the 9th of September these also came to Greenville, gave up their prisoners, and asked for forgiveness.

The basis of the treaty of Greenville was the previous one made at Fort Harmar, and its leading provisions were as follows:

ART. 1. Hostilities were to cease.

ART. 2. All prisoners were to be restored.

\* See American Pioneer, i. 54.

† See speeches of Blue Jacket and Massass. [American State Papers, v. 568,] and of Agoshaway, an Ottawa. [American State Papers, v. 566.]

‡ Jay reached England June 15, 1794; his treaty was concluded Nov. 19th; it was received by the President March 7, 1795; was submitted to the Senate June 8; was agreed to by them on the 24th of that month; and ratified by the President Aug. 14th.



ART. 3. The general boundary lines between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westwardly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course, to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly, in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawba river. And in consideration of the peace now established; of the goods formerly received from the United States; of those now to be delivered; and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war; the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish, forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any other people thereof.

And for the same consideration, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land six miles square, at or near Laromie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece, six miles square, at the head of the navigable waters of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece, six miles square, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Miami river, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Marys and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece, six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece, twelve miles square, at the British fort on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11.





One piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments: and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine on the south, and lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michillimackinac, and all the land on the Island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the Main to the north of the Island, to measure six miles, on lake Huron, or the Strait between lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water on the lake or Strait; and also, the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the south-west end of lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece, six miles square, at the old Peorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States, a free passage, by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts herein before mentioned; that is to say: from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence, along said portage, to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage, at or near Loramie's store, along the portage, from thence to the river Auglaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay, and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of Chicago, to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wa-



bash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers, along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes when necessary for their safety.

ART. 4. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands, made in the preceding article, by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands, northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post at St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places, in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3d article; and 4th. The post of Fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim, which they or any of them may have.

And, for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, for ever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place, northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following:

- 1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars.
- 2d. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars.
- 3d. To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars.
- 4th. To the Miamies, the amount of one thousand dollars.
- 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars.
- 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars.
- 7th. To the Pottawatimas, the amount of one thousand dollars.



8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel river, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

ART. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding, about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States, in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to these lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes, in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever.\*

ART. 6th. The Indians or United States may remove and punish intruders on Indian lands.

ART. 7th. Indians may hunt within ceded lands.

ART. 8th. Trade shall be opened in substance, as by provisions in treaty of Fort Harmar.

ART. 9th. All injuries shall be referred to law; not privately avenged; and all hostile plans known to either, shall be revealed to the other party.

ART. 10th. All previous treaties annulled.

This great and abiding peace document, was signed by the various nations named in the 4th article, and dated August the 3d, 1795. It was laid before the Senate, December 9th, and ratified December 22d. So closed the old Indian wars of the West.†

\* See Land Laws, p. 154.

† See the treaty and minutes of the council, American State Papers, v. 562 to 583. The treaty alone, Land Laws 154 to 159.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

[The following documents are of sufficient importance to require insertion, and yet they are not exactly suited to the body of this work. Instead of a cumbrous note running through several pages, we place them in the form of an APPENDIX

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### [NUMBER I.]

Miami (Maumee) River, August 21, 1794.

SIR: An Army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami, (Maumee) for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by His Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Reg.,  
Commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami.  
To Major General Wayne, &c.

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### [NUMBER II.]

Camp on the Bank of the Miami, (Maumee.) }  
August 21, 1794. }

SIR: I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post,





which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, &c. were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE, Major General,  
And Commander-in-chief of the Federal Army.  
To Major William Campbell, &c.

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[NUMBER III.]

Fort Miami, August 22d, 1794.

SIR: Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States in this neighborhood, under your command, yet still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forborne, for these two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers, with arms in their hands. Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but, should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my king and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment,  
Commanding at Fort Miami.  
Major General Wayne, &c.

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[NUMBER IV.]

Camp, Banks of the Miami, 22d August, 1794.

SIR: In your letter of the 21st instant, you declare, "I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America." I, on my part, declare the same, and that the only cause I have to entertain



a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, i. e. by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested, by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major William Campbell, &c.

[NUMBER V.]

Fort Miami, 22d August, 1794.

SIR: I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that, being placed here in command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. Those are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post, at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived, if His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river, at and prior to the period you mention.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment,

Commanding at Fort Miami.

To Major General Wayne, &c.



## [ NUMBER VI. ]

*Killed and Wounded.*

The Legion had twenty-six killed, five of them officers, eighty-seven wounded, thirteen of them officers; the Kentucky volunteers had seven killed, all privates, and thirteen wounded, three of whom were officers;—of the wounded eleven died: making in all dead and wounded, one hundred and thirty-three.—American State Papers, v. 492.

An eye-witness (American Pioneer, i. 319) thinks there were near five hundred Canadians in the battle. A Shawanese prisoner taken August 11, testifies thus—

Question.—What number of warriors are at McKee's, and what nations do they belong to?

Answer.—There are six hundred who abandoned this place on the approach of the Army.

Shawanese, about	- - - -	200, but not more.
Delawares, - - - -	- - - -	300
Miamies, - - - -	- - - -	100
Warriors of all other tribes, - - - -	- - - -	100
Total,		700

Q.—What number are expected to assemble, in addition to those now at the foot of the Rapids?

A.—In all, about four hundred men, viz.

Wyandots, - - - -	- - - -	300
Tawas, - - - -	- - - -	240
Total,		540

Q.—What number of white men are to join and when?

A.—Mr. or Captain Elliot set out for Detroit six days since, and was to be back yesterday, with all the militia, and an additional number of regular troops, which, with those already there, would amount to one thousand men. This is the general conversation among the Indians, and Captain Elliot promised to bring that number. Colonel McKee's son went with Elliot, as also the man who deserted from the army on its march.

One of the Canadians taken in the battle gives the following estimates:

That the Delawares have about five hundred men, including those who live on both rivers, the White river, and Bean creek.

That the Miamies are about two hundred warriors, part of them live on the St. Joseph's, eight leagues from this place; that the men were all in the action, but the women are yet at that place, or Piquet's village; that a road leads from this



place directly to it; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when altogether, amounts to about forty.

That the Shawanese have about three hundred warriors; that the Tawas, on this river, are two hundred and fifty; that the Wyandots are about three hundred.

That those Indians were generally in the action on the 20th instant, except some hunting parties. That a reinforcement of regular troops, and two hundred militia, arrived at Fort Miami a few days before the army appeared, that the regular troops in the fort amounted to two hundred and fifty, exclusive of the militia.

That about seventy of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action. That Colonel McKee, Captain Elliot, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectful distance and near the river.

That the Indians have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel McKee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war.—[American State Papers, v. 494.]

In a letter of August 14th, Wayne says, "The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the Lake and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place, (Grand Glaize;) nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida." [American State Papers, v. 490.]





## CHAPTER XIV.

### POLITICAL EVENTS.

Kentucky admitted into the Union—French influence defeated—Spanish influence from New Orleans—A project to dismember the Union—Political parties formed—Federal and Anti Federal views—Whisky insurrection—Settlements in Ohio—Jay's treaty.

During the six years through which the Indian wars of the West continued, many events took place of local importance, to which we must now refer. And foremost, stands the admission of Kentucky into the Union. In 1789, she had requested certain changes in the law authorizing separation, which had been passed by Virginia, and these changes were made; it being requested, however, at the same time, that a ninth Kentucky convention should meet, in July, 1790, to express the sentiments of the people of the western district, and to take other needful steps. Upon the 26th of July, accordingly, the Convention came together; the terms of Virginia were agreed to: June 1, 1792, was fixed as the date of independence; and measures adopted to procure the agreement of the federal legislature. It was also resolved, that in December, 1791, persons should be chosen to serve seven months, who, on the first Monday in April, 1792, should meet at Danville, to form a constitution for the coming state, and determine what laws should be in force. In December, 1790, the President of the United States presented the subject of the admission of Kentucky to Congress, and upon the 4th of February, 1791, that action was taken, which terminated the long frustrated efforts of the land of Boone, Clark, and Logan, to obtain self-government. In the following December, the elections took place, for persons to frame a constitution, and in April, 1792, the instrument which was to lie at the basis of Kentucky law, was prepared, mainly, it would seem, by George Nicholas, of Mercer county.\* As this charter, however, was changed in some important features, a few years after, we shall not at this time, enter into any discussion of its merits and defects.

\* Marshall's Kentucky, i. 360, 414.—Sparks' Washington, xii. 13, 32.—Butler's Kentucky, 196.



A second subject to be noticed, is the attempt of the agents of the French minister in the United States, to enlist the citizens of Kentucky, in an attack upon the dominions of Spain, in the southwest. We cannot, and need not, do more than refer to the state of feeling prevalent in America, in relation to France, from 1792 to 1795. On the 21st of January, 1793, the French had taken the life of their monarch, and upon the 18th of May, M. Genet was presented to Washington, as the representative of the new republic of France. This man brought with him *open* instructions, in which the United States were spoken of as naturally neutral, in the contest between France and united Holland, Spain and England; and *secret* instructions, the purpose of which was to induce the government, and if that could not be done, the People, of the American republic, to make common cause with the founders of the dynasty of the guillotine. In pursuance of this plan, Genet began a system of operations, the tendency of which was, to involve the People of the United States in a war with the enemies of France, without any regard to the views of the federal government: and knowing very well the old bitterness of the frontier-men, in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, he formed the plan of embodying a band of troops beyond the Alleghanies, for the conquest of Louisiana. Early in November, in 1793, four persons were sent westward to raise troops and issue commissions, in the name of the French republic. They moved openly and boldly, secure in the strong democratic feelings of the inhabitants of the region drained by the great river which Spain controlled; and so far succeeded, as to persuade even the political founder of Kentucky, George Rogers Clark, to become a Major General in the armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces on the Mississippi.\* Nor did the French emissaries much mistake the temper of the people of the West, as will be evident from the following extracts; the first of which, is from an address "to the inhabitants of the United States west of the Alleghany and Appalachian mountains," dated December 13, 1793; the other, from a remonstrance to the President and

\* Pitkin's United States, ii. 359, 360.—Genet's pamphlet and correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, published in Philadelphia, 1793.—American State Papers, i. 454 to 460.—Marshall's Kentucky, ii. 99 to 100, 103.—Butler's Kentucky, 224 to 234, and 524 to 531. Second edition.



Congress of the United States of America, which is without date, but was prepared about the same time as the first paper.

December 13, 1793.

*Fellow-Citizens* :—The Democratic Society of Kentucky having had under consideration, the measures necessary to obtain the exercise of your rights to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have determined to address you upon that important topic. In so doing, they think that they only use the undoubted right of citizens to consult for their common welfare. This measure is not dictated by party or faction; it is the consequence of unavoidable necessity. It has become so, from the neglect shown by the General Government, to obtain for those of the citizens of the United States who are interested therein the navigation of that river. \* \* \* \*

Experience, fellow-citizens, has shown us that the General Government is unwilling that we should obtain the navigation of the river Mississippi. A local policy appears to have an undue weight in the councils of the Union. It seems to be the object of that policy to prevent the population of this country, which would draw from the eastern States their industrious citizens. This conclusion inevitably follows from a consideration of the measures taken to prevent the purchase and settlement of the lands bordering on the Mississippi. Among those measures, the unconstitutional interference which rescinded sales, by one of the States, to private individuals, makes a striking object. And perhaps the fear of a successful rivalry, in every article of their exports, may have its weight. But, if they are not unwilling to do us justice, they are at least regardless of our rights and welfare. We have found prayers and supplications of no avail, and should we continue to load the table of Congress with memorials, from a part only of the western country, it is too probable that they would meet with a fate similar to those which have been formerly presented. Let us, then, all unite our endeavors in the common cause. Let all join in a firm and manly remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States, stating our just and undoubted right to the navigation of the Mississippi, remonstrating against the conduct of government with regard to that right, which must have been occasioned by local policy or neglect, and demanding of them speedy and effectual exertions for its attainment. We cannot doubt that you will cordially and unanimously join in this measure. It can hardly be necessary to remind you that considerable quantities of beef, pork, flour, hemp, tobacco, &c., the produce of this country, remain on hand for want of purchasers, or are sold at inadequate prices. Much greater quantities might be raised if the inhabitants were encouraged by the certain sale which the free navigation of the Mississippi would afford. An addi-



tional increase of those articles, and a greater variety of produce and manufactures, would be supplied, by means of the encouragement, which the attainment of that great object would give to emigration. But it is not only your own rights which you are to regard: remember that your posterity have a claim to your exertions to obtain and secure that right. Let not your memory be stigmatised with a neglect of duty. Let not history record that the inhabitants of this beautiful country lost a most invaluable right, and half the benefits bestowed upon it by a bountiful Providence, through your neglect and supineness. The present crisis is favorable. Spain is engaged in a war which requires all her forces. If the present golden opportunity be suffered to pass without advantage, and she shall have concluded a peace with France, we must then contend against her undivided strength.

But what may be the event of the proposed application is still uncertain. We ought, therefore, to be still upon our guard, and watchful to seize the first favorable opportunity to gain our object. In order to this, our union should be as perfect and lasting as possible. We propose that societies should be formed, in convenient districts, in every part of the western country, who shall preserve a correspondence upon this and every other subject of a general concern. By means of these societies we shall be enabled speedily to know what may be the result of our endeavors, to consult upon such further measures as may be necessary to preserve union, and, finally, by these means, to secure success.

Remember that it is a common cause which ought to unite us; that cause is indubitably just, that ourselves and posterity are interested, that the crisis is favorable, and that it is only by union that the object can be achieved. The obstacles are great, and so ought to be our efforts. Adverse fortune may attend us, but it shall never dispirit us. We may for a while exhaust our wealth and strength, but until the all important object is procured, we pledge ourselves to you, and let us all pledge ourselves to each other, that our perseverance and our friendship will be inexhaustible.

JOHN BRECKENRIDGE, Chairman.

Test :—THOMAS TODD, }  
THOMAS BODLEY, } Clerks.

*To the President and Congress of the United States of America.*

*The remonstrance of the subscribers, citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, sheweth :—*

That your remonstrants, and the other inhabitants of the United States, west of the Alleghany and Apalachian mountains, are entitled, by nature and stipulation, to the free and





undisturbed navigation of the river Mississippi; and that, from the year 1783 to this day, they have been prevented uniformly, by the Spanish king, from exercising that right. Your remonstrants have observed, with concern, that the General Government, whose duty it was to have preserved that right, have used no effectual measures for its attainment; that even their tardy and ineffectual negotiations have been veiled with the most mysterious secrecy; that that secrecy is a violation of the political rights of the citizens, as it declares that the people are unfit to be entrusted with important facts relative to their rights, and that their servants may retain from them the knowledge of those facts. Eight years are surely sufficient for the discussion of the most doubtful and disputable claim. The right to the navigation of the Mississippi admits neither of doubt nor dispute. Your remonstrants, therefore, conceive that the negotiations on that subject have been unnecessarily lengthy, and they expect that it be demanded categorically of the Spanish king whether he will acknowledge the right of the citizens of the United States to the free and uninterrupted navigation of the river Mississippi, and cause all obstructions, interruption, and hindrance to the exercise of that right, in future, to be withdrawn and avoided; that immediate answer be required, and that such answer be the final period of all negotiations upon the subject.

Your remonstrants further represent, that the encroachment of the Spaniards upon the territory of the United States, is a striking and melancholy proof of the situation to which our country will be reduced, if a tame policy should still continue to direct our councils.

Your remonstrants join their voice to that of their fellow-citizens in the Atlantic States, calling for satisfaction for the injuries and insults offered to America; and they expect such satisfaction shall extend to every injury and insult done or offered to any part of America, by Great Britain and Spain; and as the detention of the posts, and the interruption to the navigation of the Mississippi, are injuries and insults of the greatest atrocity, and of the longest duration, they require the most particular attention to those subjects.\*

But the government had taken measures to prevent the proposed movements from being carried into effect. The Governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby; Governor St. Clair, and General Wayne, were all written to: and, by the preparation of troops, the renewal of Fort Massac,† the dissemination of just views among the people, and the request made of the French government that Genet should be recalled, the plans

\* *American State Papers*. xx. 929, 930.

† See *American Pioneer*, ii. 220.—See on the whole subject, *Marshall*, ii. 96 to 122.



of that mischief-maker and his agents were effectually defeated: the rulers of France disowned his acts—he was ordered back to Europe—and in May, 1794, his western emissary was forced to write to the Democratic Society of Lexington in these words:—

*To the Democratic Society of Lexington:*

CITIZENS:—Events, unforeseen, the effects of causes which it is unnecessary here to develop, have stopped the march of two thousand brave Kentuckians, who, strong in their courage, in the justice of their rights, their cause, the general assent of their fellow-citizens, and convinced of the brotherly disposition of the Louisianians, waited only for their orders to go, by the strength of their arms, take from the Spaniards the despotic usurpers of the empire of the Mississippi, ensure to their country the navigation of it, break the chains of the Americans, and their brethren the French, hoist up the flag of liberty in the name of the French republic, and lay the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of two nations situated so, and destined by nature to be one, the most happy in the universe. \* \* \* \* \*

Accept, citizens, the farewell, not the last, of a brother who is determined to sacrifice every thing in his power for the liberty of his country, and the prosperity of the generous inhabitants of Kentucky.

Salut en la patrie,

AUGUSTE LACHAISE.\*

This letter was followed by a meeting in Lexington, which denounced Washington and all who supported him, especially Jay. It also proposed a convention for the indefinite purpose of deliberating on the steps expedient to secure the just rights of the people: the proposition produced no result. [See Butler's Kentucky, 234.] Up to April, 1794, there were preparations still going on; John S. Gano of Cincinnati, on the 8th or 9th of that month, passed through Lexington: he found the Genet plan generally liked, cannon casting, ammunition subscribed, and heard of boats building at the Falls. It had been previously dropped for a time from want of funds.

Notwithstanding Genet's defeat, M. Adet, the minister of France in 1796, appears to have sent emissaries into the West in the spring of that year, to renew the process of exciting disaffection to the Union. They were General Collot and M. Warin. Information of the plan having been communicated

\* American State Papers, xx. 931.



to the Executive, an agent was sent after the Frenchmen to watch them, and counteract their purposes. This person saw Collot at Pittsburgh, and learned his plans; he was to visit Kentucky, Fort Washington, the South-west, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and St. Louis; he carried strong letters to Wilkinson, and relied especially on Sebastian. The government appears to have brought the whole plot to naught, in silence. [Evidence of these facts is to be found in the letter of the agent employed; in the memoranda of Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury; and in the Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, by George Gibbs, published in New York in 1846, vol. i. 350 to 356.]

A third topic relative to Kentucky, which we now have to notice as connected with the period we are treating of, is the Spanish intrigue with Wilkinson, Sebastian, Innis, and Nicholas.

In 1787, General Wilkinson had made his last trip to New Orleans; in February, 1788, he returned to Kentucky, and the following year again visited the south, with which he continued to hold regular intercourse until 1791, when he began to take part in the Indian wars of the north-west. During this period, his operations were to appearance, merely commercial, and the utmost reach of his plans, the formation of a kind of mercantile treaty with the Spanish provinces, by which the navigation of the Mississippi might be secured as a privilege, if not a right. We cannot enter into an examination of the mass of evidence brought forward in later times, (from 1807 to 1811,) to sustain the charge brought against Wilkinson of having received a pension from the Spanish Government, in return for which he was to play the traitor to his country and effect a disunion of the States. In 1808, he was brought before a court of inquiry, and entirely acquitted of the charge; and again, in 1811, he was tried before a court martial, and every particle of evidence that could be found by his most inveterate enemies, without regard to legal formalities, which the accused dispensed with, was gathered, to overwhelm him; but he was declared innocent by the court of every charge preferred against him. Nor does our own examination of the evidence lead us to doubt the correctness of the decision in his favor; the chief witnesses who criminated him were of the worst character, and most



vindictive tempers, and not a circumstance was fairly, clearly proved that could not be explained by the avowed mercantile relations which he succeeded in establishing with the Spanish governors at New Orleans. Those governors may, very probably, have hoped to see his business connections turn into political ones, but there is no cause to think they ever did so.\*

Among the plans of the Spanish officials in Louisiana, was one of encouraging emigration thither from the United States, and this had been fully disclosed to Wilkinson, who furnished a list of probable emigrants, and interested himself generally in the matter.† Among the persons recommended by him to Gov. Miro, was Benjamin Sebastian, a lawyer of Kentucky, and in September, 1789, the Governor wrote to Sebastian, relative to the proposed measure.‡ In that letter, the wish of Spain to establish friendly relations with the Ohio settlers was named, and an offer of certain commercial privileges held out. The communication thus opened with Sebastian, was probably continued; and when the Baron de Carondelet succeeded Gen. Miro, he wrote to him in July, 1795, the following letter:

New Orleans, July 16, 1795.

Sir:—The confidence reposed in you by my predecessor, Brigadier General Miro, and your former correspondence with him, have induced me to make a communication to you highly interesting to the country in which you live, and to Louisiana.

His Majesty, being willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the people of the western country, and being also desirous to establish certain regulations, reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of both countries, has ordered me

\* Depositions of George Mather and William Wickeff, jr., in Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 103, 101. Deposition of A. Ellicott, American State Papers, xxi. 89 (12th interrogation.)

The evidence in relation to Wilkinson, is in American State Papers, xx. 704 to 713, 936 to 939; xxi. 79 to 127; in report of the committee of the House of Representatives, Washington, 1811; in "Proofs of the corruption of General James Wilkinson, by Daniel Clark." See also appendix to Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii.—also his argument to the Court Martial, Memoirs, ii. 41 to 268.

A letter in Dillon's Indiana, i. 412, from Wilkinson to Captain Buntin, is worthy of notice, as a proof in favor of Wilkinson's intentions in 1797.

For charges against him, see Memoirs, ii. 35 to 40

For sentence of Court of Inquiry, do. pp. 12, 13.

For do. Court Martial, do. pp. 565 to 576.

The charges before the Court Marshal and its sentence, are also in Niles' Register, i. 469, to 474.

† Memoirs, ii. 112.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 706 and 926.





to proceed on the business, and to effect, in a way the most satisfactory to the people of the western country, his benevolent designs.

I have, therefore, made this communication to you, in expectation that you will procure agents to be chosen and fully empowered by the people of your country to negotiate with Col. Gayoso on the subject, at New Madrid, whom I shall send there in October next, properly authorized for that purpose, with directions to continue in that place, or its vicinity, until the arrival of your agents.

I am, by information, well acquainted with the character of some of the most respectable inhabitants of Kentucky, particularly of Innis, Nicholas, and Murray, to whom I wish you to communicate the purport of this address; and, should you and those gentlemen think as important of it as I do, you will doubtless accede, without hesitation, to the proposition I have made of sending a delegation of your countrymen, sufficiently authorized to treat on a subject which so deeply involves the interest of both our countries.

I remain, with every esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THE BARON OF CARONDELET.

Innis, Nicholas and Murray, were consulted, and the result was a visit by Sebastian, first to New Madrid, where he conferred with Gayoso, and then to New Orleans, where he met with the Baron himself. Before, however, terms were agreed on, news came that the Federal Government had concluded a treaty with Spain, covering the whole subject, and the messenger, in 1796, returned to Kentucky.\* During the summer of the next year, 1797, Thomas Power came to Kentucky from Louisiana, and sent Sebastian the following communication, which he in turn communicated to Innis and Nicholas, who sent to Sebastian a reply which we also give.

His Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, Commander-in-chief and Governor of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of West Florida, and Louisiana, having communications of importance, embracing the interests of said provinces, and at the same time deeply affecting those of Kentucky, and the western country in general, to make to its inhabitants through the medium of the influential characters in this country, and judging it, in the present uncertain and critical attitude of politics, highly imprudent and dangerous to lay them on paper, has expressly commissioned and authorized me to submit the following proposals to the consideration of Messrs. S., N., I., and M. [Sebastian, Nicholas, Innis, and

\* Deposition of Innis. *American State Papers*, xx. 925 to 927.



Murray,] and also of such other gentlemen, as may be pointed out by them, and to receive from them their sentiments and determination on the subject.

1. The above named gentlemen are immediately to exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country, a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government, wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States. To prepare and dispose the people for such an event, it will be necessary that the most popular and eloquent writers in this State should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages, that a longer connexion with, and dependence on, the Atlantic States, must inevitably draw upon them, and the great and innumerable difficulties in which they will probably be entangled if they do not speedily secede from the Union; the benefits they will certainly reap from a secession, ought to be pointed out in the most forcible and powerful manner; and the danger of permitting the federal troops to take possession of the posts on the Mississippi; and thus forming a cordon of fortified places around them, must be particularly expatiated upon. In consideration of gentlemen's devoting their time and talents to this object, his Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, will appropriate the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to their use, which shall be paid in drafts on the royal treasury at New Orleans; or if more convenient, shall be conveyed at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, into this country, and held at their disposal. Moreover, should such persons as shall be instrumental in promoting the views of his Catholic Majesty, hold any public employment, and in consequence of taking an active part in endeavoring to effect a secession, shall lose their employment—a compensation equal at least to the emoluments of their office, shall be made to them, by his Catholic Majesty, let their efforts be crowned with success, or terminate in disappointment.

2. Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac should be taken possession of by the troops of the new government, which shall be furnished by his Catholic Majesty without loss of time, together with twenty field-pieces, with their carriages, and every necessary appendage, including powder, ball, &c., together with a number of small arms and ammunition, sufficient to equip the troops that it shall be judged expedient to raise. The whole to be transported at his expense to the already named Fort Massac. His Catholic Majesty will further supply the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the raising and maintaining said troops, which sum shall also be conveyed to and delivered at Fort Massac.



3. The northern boundary of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida shall be designated by a line commencing on the Mississippi at the mouth of the river Yazoo, extending due east to the River Confederation, or Tombigbee : Provided, That all his Catholic Majesty's forts, posts, and settlements on the Confederation or Tombigbee are included in the south side of such a line, but should any of his Majesty's forts, posts or settlements fall to the north side of said line, then the northern boundary of his Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line beginning at the same point on the Mississippi, and drawn in such a direction as to meet the River Confederation or Tombigbee, six miles to the north of the most northern Spanish post, or settlement on the said river. All the lands north of that line shall be considered as constituting a part of the territory of the new government, saving that small tract of land at the Chickasaw Bluffs, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, ceded to his Majesty by the Chickasaw nation in a formal treaty concluded on the spot, in the year 1795, between His Excellency Senor Don Manuel Gayoso de Leemos, governor of Natchez, and Augleakabee and some other Chickasaw chiefs; which tract of land his Majesty reserves for himself. The eastern boundary of the Floridas shall be hereafter regulated.

4. His Catholic Majesty will, in case the Indian nations south of the Ohio should declare war or commit hostilities against the new government, not only join and assist it in repelling its enemies, but if said Government shall at any future time esteem it useful to reduce said Indian nations, extend its dominion over them, and compel them to submit themselves to its constitution and laws, his Majesty will heartily concur and co-operate with the new government in the most effectual manner in obtaining this desirable end.

5. His Catholic Majesty will not either directly or indirectly interfere in the framing of the constitution or laws which the new government shall think fit to adopt ; nor will he, at any time, by any means whatever, attempt to lessen the independence of the said government, or endeavor to acquire an undue influence in it, but will, in the manner that shall hereafter be stipulated by treaty, defend and support it in preserving its independence.

The preceding proposals, are the outlines of a provisional treaty, which his Excellency the Baron of Carondelet, is desirous of entering into with the inhabitants of the western country, the moment they shall be in a situation to treat for themselves. Should they not meet entirely with your approbation, and should you wish to make any alterations in, or additions to them, I shall on my return, if you think proper to communicate them to me, lay them before His Excellency,



who is animated with a sincere and ardent desire to foster this promising and rising infant country, and at the same time, promote and fortify the interests of his beneficent and royal master, in securing by a generous and disinterested conduct, the gratitude of a just, sensible and enlightened people.

The important and unexpected events that have taken place in Europe since the ratification of the treaty concluded on the 27th of October, 1795, between His Catholic Majesty and the United States of America, having convulsed the general system of politics in that quarter of the globe, and wherever its influence is extended, causing a collision of interests between nations formerly living in the most perfect union and harmony, and directing the political views of some States towards objects the most remote from their former pursuits, but none being so completely unhinged and disjointed as the cabinet of Spain, it may be confidently asserted, without incurring the reproach of presumption, that His Catholic Majesty will not carry the above-mentioned treaty into execution; nevertheless, the thorough knowledge I have of the disposition of the Spanish Government justifies me in saying that, so far from its being His Majesty's wish to exclude the inhabitants of this western country from the free navigation of the Mississippi, or withhold from them any of the benefits stipulated for them by the treaty, it is positively his intention, so soon as they shall put it in his power to treat with them, by declaring themselves independent of the Federal Government, and establishing one of their own, to grant them privileges far more extensive, give them a decided preference over the Atlantic States in his commercial connexions with them, and place them in a situation infinitely more advantageous, in every point of view, than that in which they would find themselves were the treaty to be carried into effect.

THOMAS POWER.

REPLY.

Sir:—We have seen the communication made, by you to Mr. Sebastian. In answer thereto, we declare unequivocally, that we will not be concerned, either directly or indirectly, in any attempt that may be made to separate the western country from the United States. That whatever part we may at any time be induced to take in the politics of our country, that her welfare will be our only inducement, and that we will never receive any pecuniary, or any other reward, for any personal exertions made by us, to promote that welfare.

The free navigation of the Mississippi must always be the favorite object of the inhabitants of the western country; they cannot be contented without it; and will not be deprived of it longer than necessity shall compel them to submit to its being withheld from them.





We flatter ourselves that every thing will be set right, by the governments of the two nations; but if this should not be the case, it appears to us, that it must be the policy of Spain to encourage by every possible means, the free intercourse with the inhabitants of the western country, as this will be the most efficient means to conciliate their good will, and to obtain without hazard, and at reduced prices, those supplies which are indispensably necessary to the Spanish Government and its subjects.\*

Whether Sebastian signed this reply, is not known; but upon proof that he had, for years afterwards, received two thousand dollars annually as a pension from Spain for services rendered, it was unanimously adjudged by the House of Representatives, in Kentucky, on the 6th of December, 1806, that he had been guilty, while holding the place of Judge of the Court of Appeals, of carrying on a criminal intercourse with the agents of the Spanish Government, and disgracing his country for pay. Before this decision, however, Sebastian had resigned his place, and thenceforward was lost to the councils of the State.

[Concerning this attempt to divide the Union, and erect a western confederacy, to be in alliance with Spain, there has been doubt and contradictory statements; but the references given to the public documents, and other authorities, will enable the reader who is disposed more fully to investigate the whole subject, to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

In the month of August, 1798, Spain formed an alliance with France. In December, France quarreled with the United States. At the time of the visit of Power, Spain still held the ports east of the Mississippi, which, by the treaty of 1795, were to be given up; and maintained a hostile attitude towards the United States. These facts illustrate the intrigues of Spain. The strongest circumstance in favor of Sebastian, is, that no proof was given to show he had done any overt act, in the project of disunion.†]

We have so far, said nothing of those political parties which divided the United States during the administration of Washington; for, though it is not to be doubted that the contests of those parties gave Genet cause to trust in his plans of con-

\* American State Papers, xx. 928, 929.

† See Documents in American State Papers, xx. 922 to 934. Marshall's Kentucky, ii. 377 to 384.



quest, and supported the hopes of Sebastian and his Spanish employers, yet their operations were not directly dependent upon the factions which rent the country. We have now, however, to speak of an event that derived its importance from its real or supposed connection with those factions, and which it seems proper to introduce by a brief sketch of their origin and character; we refer to the popular movement in western Pennsylvania, growing out of the excise on domestic spirits, commonly known as the Whiskey Insurrection. When the united colonies had won their independence, and the rule of George III. over them ended, the question, of course, arose as to the nature of the government which was to succeed. Two fears prevailed among the people of the freed provinces. On the one hand, a tendency to monarchy and ultimate tyranny was dreaded; it was thought that a foreign despot had been warred with in vain, if by the erection of a strong central or Federal power the foundations of domestic despotism were laid instead; the sovereignty of the several States, balancing one another, and each easily controlled by the voice of the people was, with this party of thinkers, to be the security of the freedom that had been achieved. In Europe, republicanism had been overthrown by the centralizing process, which had substituted the great monarchies for the Federal system, and the Italian and Flemish commonwealths; and in America, the danger, it was thought, would be, of too great a concentration of power in the hands of a central Federal sovereignty. [Governor Harrison of Virginia, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, said of the Constitution, as first adopted, that it "must, sooner or later, establish a tyranny not inferior to the triumvirate or centumviri of Rome. George Mason also said of it, that it would cause the government to "commence a moderate aristocracy," and would finally "produce a monarchy, or a corrupt aristocracy.\*"] While these views prevailed among one portion of the American people, another portion dreaded the excess of popular democratic passions, tending constantly to anarchy. To this party, a strong central power seemed essential, not only for financial and commercial purposes, but also to restrain the inevitable

\* Sparks' Washington, ix. 267. Note, also 517—Elliott's Debates. ii. 52, 213. Washington's views on the same subject, are found in the same volume, pp. 11, 167, 187, 203, 210, 211, 253. See also a letter to Doctor Gorton, in the *North American Review*, vol. xxv. p. 254 (October, 1827.)



disposition of popular governments to the abandonment of all law, all reverence, and all social unity. History and reflection, in short, showed men on the one side, that human rulers are readily converted into despots; on the other, that human subjects were impatient of even wholesome control, and readily converted into licentious, selfish anarchists. When at length the business sufferings of the country, and the worthlessness of the old confederacy, led to the formation of the present constitution, the two bodies of whom we have spoken, were forced to compromise, and while the strong executive, and complete centralization of Hamilton, Jay and Adams, had to be abandoned by them and their friends, the complete independence of the States, and the corresponding nullity of Congress, which Patrick Henry, Mason, and Harrison preferred, had also to be given up, or greater evils follow. In this same spirit of compromise upon which our constitution rested, Washington framed his cabinet, and directed his administration, and it seemed possible, that in time the bitterness of feeling which had shown itself before and during the discussion of the great Bond of Union, would die away. But the difficulties of the first administration were enormous, such as no man but Washington could have met with success, and even he could not secure the unanimity he wished for.\* Among those difficulties, none were greater than the payment of the public debt, and the arrangement of a proper system of finance. The party which dreaded anarchy, which favored a strong central rule, an efficient Federal Government—the Federalists, feeling that the whole country, as such, had contracted debts, felt bound in honor and honesty to do every thing to procure their payment; it also felt that the future stability and power of the Federal Government depended greatly upon the establishment of its credit at the outset of its career. The anti-

\* For the views of

HAMILTON, see *North American Review*, xxv. 266. *Journal of Convention at Philadelphia*, May 14, 1787, p. 130.

JAY, " *Sparks' Washington*, ix. 510. *North American Review*, xxv. 263.

HENRY, " *Sparks' Washington*, ix. 266. Note, *Elliott's Debates*, ii. 64, 71, 139, 147, &c.

MADISON, " *Sparks' Washington*, ix. 516. *North American Review*, xxv. 264.

JEFFERSON " *Sparks' Washington*, x. 518 to 526. *North American Review*, xxv. 267 to 269. *Jefferson's Writings*, ii. 449.

KNOX, " *North American Review*, xxv. 264.



Federalists, who dreaded centralization, on the other hand, favoring State sovereignty, and wishing but a slight national union, neither desired the creation of a national credit, nor felt the obligation of a national debt in the same degree as their opponents, and feared the creation of a moneyed aristocracy by speculations in the public stocks. When, therefore, Mr. Hamilton, upon whom it devolved, as Secretary of the Treasury, to offer a plan for liquidating the debts of the confederation, attempted the solution of the financial problem, he was certain to displease one party or the other. In generalities, compromises had been found possible, but in details they were not readily admitted. Hamilton, moreover, was one of the most extreme friends of centralization, and any measure emanating from him was sure to be resisted. When he brought forward his celebrated series of financial measures, accordingly, the whole strength of the two divisions of which we have been speaking, appeared for and against his plans. And it is to be noted, that the question was not a mere question of Finance; it involved the vital principles for and against which the Federal and anti-Federal parties were struggling. The former actually hoped by means of the Funding and Bank systems, to found a class whose interests would so bind them to the Government, as to give it permanency,\* while their opponents actually anticipated the formation of a moneyed aristocracy, which would overthrow the power and liberties of the people; they felt they were "sold to stockholders," and like the Roman debtors condemned to slavery.†

In the West, the opponents of the Central Government were numerous. Its formation had been resisted, and its measures were almost all unpopular. The Indian War was a cause of complaint, because Harmar and St. Clair had been defeated;‡ the army was a cause of complaint, because it was the beginning of a system of standing armies. The funding system was hated because of its injustice, inasmuch as it aided

\* See letter of Oliver Wolcott, dated March 27, 1790, in Gibbs, i. 43.

† Address of Democratic Club of Wythe county, Virginia, dated July 4, 1794; it is in the Boston Independent Chronicle, of August 11, 1794. Jefferson's letter to Washington. (Sparks' Washington, x. 519-521.)

‡ In the Democratic newspapers of the time, the Funding system, the Excise, the Bank, and the Indian war are all equally condemned. See, for example, a series of letters on Hamilton's financial measures in the Independent Chronicle, of Boston, July, August and September, 1794.





speculation, and because it would lead to the growth of a favored class; the western posts were held by England, the Mississippi closed by Spain, and the frontier ravaged by the savages, and against all, the Federal Government did what? Nothing. So said the leaders of popular feeling. It was not strange, therefore, that the people of western Pennsylvania, especially those of foreign birth and descent, should object to the payment of the most unpopular kind of tax for the support of a Government which they disliked, and had no faith in. Unable readily to reach a market with their produce, they concentrated it into whisky, and upon this, while all other agricultural wealth was untouched, the hated tax-gatherer was sent to lay his excise. [A horse could pack only four bushels of rye, but he could carry the whisky from twenty-four bushels, when converted into what was called "high wines."\*] Nor was it the producer only who complained; the consumers also felt aggrieved by the duty laid upon domestic spirits, for they were the common drink of the nation; the star of temperance had not then arisen. It was in December, 1790, that General Hamilton advised the excise on spirits; upon the 3d of the ensuing March, the law was passed; and instantly the spirit of opposition showed itself. At first this opposition was confined to efforts to discourage persons from holding offices connected with the excise; next associations were formed of those who were ready to "forbear" compliance with the law; but as men talked with one another, and the excise became more and more identified with the tyranny of Federalism, stronger demonstrations were inevitable, and upon the 27th of July, 1791, a meeting was called at Brownsville, (Redstone,) to consider the growing troubles of the western district of Pennsylvania.† This meeting, which was attended by influential and able men, agreed to a gathering of representatives from the five counties included in the fourth survey under the law in question, to be held at Washington, upon the 23d of August. [These five counties were Washington, Alleghany, Westmoreland, Fayette and Bedford.] The gathering took place, and we extract from Hamilton's report, of August 1794, the following sentence in relation to it:

\* *American Pioneer*, ii. 215.

† *American State Papers*, vii. 64, 110; also xx. 107, 167, Ed.



This meeting passed some intermediate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the Pittsburgh Gazette, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted, or might thereafter accept, any such office, with contempt, and absolutely refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support, or comfort.

Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Government, though foreign to each other; authorizing by this zeal for censure a suspicion that they were actuated, not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Alleghany, on the first Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in an address to the Legislature of the United States upon the subject of the excise law and other grievances.

Here, for the first time, the connection of the antagonism to the Excise, with other topics, was brought forward, and a political character given to the movement, by a general assault upon the measures of the Federal Government. This assault assumed a yet more distinctive character at a subsequent meeting of delegates held at Pittsburgh, upon the 7th of September; at which the salaries of the Federal officers; the interest paid upon the national debt; the want of distinction between the original holders of that debt and those who had bought it at a discount; and the creation of a United States Bank, were all denounced in common with the tax on whisky. [But they refused to give aid of any kind to the excise officers, which practically meant they refused to sustain the laws, or protect life and property against illegal force.\*] At these meetings all was conducted with propriety; and the resolutions adopted gave no direct countenance to violence. And when did the leaders of a community, its legislators, judges and clergy, ever express, in any manner, however

\* American State Papers, xx. 107.



quiet, their utter disregard of law, without a corresponding expression by the masses, if uneducated, in acts of violence? It was not strange, therefore, that upon the day previous to the meeting last named, the collector for the counties of Alleghany and Washington was attacked. One report says:

A party of men, armed and disguised, waylaid him at a place on Pigeon creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes were issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton, and Thomas McComb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

The serving of these processes was confided by the then marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy, Joseph Fox, who, in the month of October, went into Alleghany county for the purpose of serving them.

The appearances and circumstances which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learned afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the processes, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

The deputy's report to the marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief, on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The marshal, transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it: "I am sorry to add that he (the deputy) found the people, in general, in the western part of the State, and particularly beyond the Alleghany Mountains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so much opposed to the execution of the said act, and from a variety of threats to himself personally, (although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand,) that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and he declares that, if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive.

I spared no expense nor pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done."

The reality of the danger to the deputy was countenanced by the opinion of Gen. Neville, the inspector of the revenue, a man who before had given, and since has given, numerous



proofs of a steady and firm temper; and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred, and feathered; and, after having his horse and money taken from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods; in which condition he remained for five hours.

These intemperate expressions of their feelings by word and deed, startled the government, and puzzled its executive officers: it was determined, however, to await the influence of time, thought, information, and leniency, and to attempt, by a reconsideration of the law, at the earliest possible moment, to do away any real cause of complaint which might exist. But popular fury once aroused is not soon allayed; the worst passions of the same people who sent out the murderers of the Moravian Indians in 1782, had been excited, and excess followed excess.\*

Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man, by the name of Wilson, a stranger in the country, and manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning distillers who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States, to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise; taken out of his bed, carried about five miles back, to a smith's shop; stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burnt; and having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered, and about day light dismissed, naked, wounded, and otherwise in a very suffering condition. These particulars are communicated in a letter from the inspector of the revenue, of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expressed it, exceeded description, and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and consideration in that county are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were, during the whole time of inflicting the punishment, apparent; the unhappy sufferer displayed the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

Not long after, a person by the name of Roseberry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering with some aggravations, for having in conversation, hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable remark, that the inhabitants of that county could not reasonably expect

\* *American State Papers*, xx. 107, 703.





protection from a government whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons who were witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson, in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot in a court then sitting, or about to sit.

Notwithstanding the course of the western people, the Federal Government, during the session of 1791 and '92, proceeded in the discussion of the obnoxious statute; and upon the 8th of May, 1792, passed an amendatory act, making such changes as were calculated to allay the angry feelings that had been excited, except so far as they were connected with political animosities, and which in most districts produced the intended result. [Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, made a report on the objections to the excise law, March 5, 1792.\*] But in western Pennsylvania, opposition continued unabated, and it was announced that the inspectors who, by the new law, were to be appointed for all the counties, should not be allowed to open their offices; nor was this a mere threat; no buildings could be obtained for the use of the United States; and when, at length, in Washington, one Captain Faulkner dared to agree that a building of his should be occupied by the inspector, he was waylaid by a mob, a knife drawn upon him, and was threatened with scalping, loss of property by fire, and other injuries, if he did not revoke his agreement; so that upon the 20th of August, under the influence of fear, he did actually break his contract, and upon the next day advertised what he had done in the Pittsburgh paper.†

On the day of this advertisement, in the same town in which it appeared, a meeting was held, headed by members of the State Legislature,‡ judges, clergymen, and other leading characters. [Of these, the late Albert Gallatin was Secretary to the meeting. The Chairman of the Committee was Daniel Bradford, who acted as a leader in many of the violent proceedings. For his views on the subject, the reader is referred to a letter from him in the United States Gazette,

\*American State Papers, xx. 108.

†American State Papers, vii. 150.

‡American State Papers, xx. 108.



of September 9th, 1794; and to Clymer's letter in Gibbs' Memoirs, i. 248.]

This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a tax on spirituous liquors is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor; that internal taxes upon consumption must, in the end, destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances, which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment, that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrance to Congress, and in every other legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law.

The resolutions then proceed, first, to appoint a committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress, an address, stating objections to the law, and praying for its repeal; secondly, to appoint committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette and Alleghany, charged to correspond together, and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and, also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or conferences of the several committees; and lastly, to declare that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty as unworthy of their friendship; that they will have no intercourse nor dealings with them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all occasions treat them with contempt; earnestly recommending it to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

When notice of this meeting, and of the means used to intimidate Faulkner, was given to the government, Washington issued a proclamation, dated September 15th; the supervisor of the district was sent to the seat of trouble to learn the true state of facts and to collect evidence; while the Attorney General was instructed to inquire into the legality of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh meeting, with a view to the indictment of the leaders. Mr. Randolph, however, felt so much doubt as to the character of the meeting of August 21, that no prosecutions on that score were instituted; and in serving process upon two persons said to have been among the assailants of Faulkner, either an error was made, or the



accusation proved to be false, which caused that matter also to be dropped by the government. [Mr. Finley, in his *History of the Insurrection*, (p. 71,) says the accusation was false, and the evidence perjured.\*] It was then proposed to attempt a gradual suppression of the resistance to the law, by adopting these measures:

1st. The prosecution of all distillers who were not licensed, when it could be done with certainty of success, and without exciting violence.

2d. The seizure of all illegal spirits on their way to market, when it could be done without leading to outbreaks.

3d. By care that only spirits which had paid duty were bought for the use of the army.

The influence of these measures was in part lost in consequence of the introduction of the whisky that paid no tax into the North-western Territory, over which some of the laws relative to the matter did not extend; but still their effect was decided: in November, 1792, Wolcott wrote that the opposition was confined to a small part of Pennsylvania, and would soon cease;† and through the whole of 1793—although the Collector for Fayette county was obliged by force to give up his books and papers, and to promise a resignation; while the Inspector of Allegheny was burnt in effigy before the magistrates, and no notice of the act taken by them; and although when warrants were issued for the rioters in the former case, the Sheriff of the county refused to execute them, yet obedience to the excise became more general, and many of the leading distillers, yielding to the suggestions of pecuniary interest, for the first time entered their stills, and abandoned the party of Bradford and his coadjutors.‡ This abandonment, the political antagonists of the law by no means relished; still even they might have been subdued but for the introduction at that very juncture, of Mr. Genet's famous system of Democratic Societies, which, like the Jacobin clubs of Paris, were to be a power above the government. Genet reached the United States, April 8th; on the 18th of

\* *American State Papers*, xx. 108, 109.—*Sparks' Washington*, x. 291, 305—526 to 533. *Gibbs' Memoirs*, i. 148.—*Marshall's Washington*, v. 365.

† *Gibbs*, i. 83.

‡ *American State Papers*, xx. 40



May, he was presented to the President; and by the 30th of that month the Democratic Society of Philadelphia was organized.\* By means of this, its affiliated bodies, and other societies based upon it, or suggested by it, the French minister, his friends and imitators, waged their war upon the administration, and gave new energy to every man who, on any ground, was dissatisfied with the laws of his country. Among those dissatisfied, the enemies of the excise were of course to be numbered; and there can be little or no doubt that to the agency of societies formed in the disaffected districts, after the plan of those founded by Genet, the renewed and excessive hostility of the western people to the tax upon spirits is to be ascribed.† [It was natural enough in the heat of political excitement, to ascribe the whisky insurrection directly to the agency of Genet in these societies, as was done by Washington and his friends. But we think the evidence in the case disproves all design on the part of the proper Democratic Societies, to rebel against the laws, or produce anarchy, or a separation of the Union. The strong sympathy with the French people for their aid in the revolutionary struggle, and the ardent love of liberty, were reasons enough to account for the organization of these societies.] The proper Democratic Societies, when the crisis came, disapproved of the violence committed,‡ and so did Gallatin and many others; but, however much they may have disliked an appeal to force, even from the outset, their measures, their extravagancies, and political fanaticism, were calculated to result in violence and nothing else. Through 1793, as we have said, the law seemed gaining, but with the next January the demon was loosed again.

William Richmond, who had given information against some of the rioters in the affair of Wilson, had his barn burnt, with all the grain and hay which it contained; and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law, and who had always spoken favorably of it; but in neither of these instances, (which happened in the county of Alleghany) though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained.

\*Marshall's Washington, v. 426, note.

†See Sparks' Washington, x. 429, 437, &c.

‡U. S. Gazette, August 26, September 1, September 6, &c., 1794.—Boston Independent Chronicle, August 18, 1794, October 6, 1794.





The inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th of February, writes that he had received information that persons, living near the dividing line of Alleghany and Washington, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and of burning his distillery; and that it had also been given out that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Alleghany county of any person who had complied with the laws; in consequence of which, he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavor to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

It appeared afterwards, that, on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons, threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. On their way, these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently complied with the laws, broke into his still-house, fired several balls under his still, and scattered fire over and about the house.

In May and June new violences were committed. James Kiddoe, the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his grist-mill at different times carried away; and Cochran suffered more material injuries. His still was destroyed; his saw-mill was rendered useless, by the taking away of the saw; and his grist-mill so injured as to require to be repaired, at considerable expense.

At the last visit, a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered, in the Pittsburgh Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figurative but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire. Thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow-citizen the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavors were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington, where it had been hitherto found impracticable. With much pains and difficulty, places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but, according to a report which has been made to this Department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

That in Washington, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction; the



second effected the object in the following mode: About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and, after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself into their power, by a promise of safety, to himself and his house, they seized and tied him; threatened to hang him; took him to a retired spot in a neighboring wood, and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the excise: having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere.\*

Even these acts, however, were followed by nothing on the part of the government more stringent than the institution, in the June following, of several suits against the rioters, and also against the non-complying distillers; to serve process in which the Marshal of the United States himself visited the West. This led to the catastrophe. These suits were in the United States Court, which sat east of the mountains, where the accused must of course be tried. But the seizure of offenders to be tried out of their own neighborhood, was opposed to the feelings of the Americans, and to the principles of that English law upon which they had relied through the discussions which preceded the Revolution. The federal government, it was said, in taking men to Philadelphia,† to be tried for alleged misdemeanors, was doing what the British did in carrying Americans beyond the sea. Then was shown, as we conceive, the power of those societies to which we have referred. In February, 1794, a society had been formed at Mingo creek, consisting of the militia of that neighborhood, the same persons who led in all future excesses.‡ In April a second association of the same character, and a regu-

\* American State Papers, xx. 110.

† The writs were there returnable, in the District Court of the United States. (Findley 74.) There was needless excitement caused by this, as the United States Courts had been authorized to sit near the troubled district, and the State Courts to try revenue cases (Findley, 73.)

‡ Brackenridge's Incidents, pp. 25, 148.



lar Democratic Club, were formed in the troublesome district. In the latter, nothing was done in relation to the excise, so far as is known, but in the two first named bodies, there is reason to believe that the worst spirit of the French clubs was naturalized; the excise and the government thoroughly canvassed; and rebellion, disunion and bloodshed, sooner or later, made familiar to the minds of all. [A murderous spirit filled and excited the ignorant people in the country.\*]

It may be readily understood that under such circumstances, great excitement was likely to prevail upon slight provocation. Notwithstanding, the Marshal was suffered to serve his writs unresisted, until, when he went with the last process in his hands, he unwisely took with him the Inspector of the county, General John Neville, a man once very popular, but who had been, as men considered, bought up by the Government, and had hence become exceedingly hateful to the populace. After serving this process, the Marshal and Inspector were followed by a crowd, and a gun was fired, though without doing any injury. The Marshal returned to Pittsburgh and the Inspector to his own house, but it being noised abroad that both were at General Neville's, a number of militia-men who were gathered under the United States law, agreed the next morning to pay the Inspector a visit. For some time, Neville had been looking for an attack, knowing his unpopularity, and had armed his negroes and barricaded his windows. An attack upon his house, with a view to a destruction of his papers, had probably been in contemplation, and those who gathered on the morning of the 16th of July, were determined, we presume, to carry the proposed destruction into effect. When General Neville discovered the party on that morning around his door, he asked their business, and upon receiving evasive replies, proceeded at once to treat them as enemies; shut his door again, and opened a fire, by which six of his supposed assailants were wounded, one of them mortally. This, of course, added greatly to the anger and excitement previously existing; news of the bloodshed were diffused through the Mingo creek neighborhood, and before nightfall, steps were taken to avenge the sufferers. [General Neville had been an opposer of a State excise, which had previously

\* Findley, 166.—Brackenridge, iii. 25.



existed; he had taken the place of an Inspector, and made the statement that he did not consider what the people thought—he would have an independent salary of six hundred—he was understood to mean pounds, when he only meant dollars.\*] What followed, we will give in the words of General Hamilton, adding afterwards some particulars gathered from Findley and Brackenridge.

Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he [Neville] made application by letter to the judges, generals of militia, and sheriff of the county, for protection. A reply to his application, from John Wilkins, jun., and John Gibson, magistrates and militia officers, informed him that the laws could not be executed, so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue law; adding, that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and would be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow that should the *posse comitatus* of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

The day following the insurgents re-assembled with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred: and on the 17th of July, renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who, in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small detachment from the garrison of Fort Pitt, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of eleven men, who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the inspector.

There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body as then appeared, and as the inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment; Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men, in the intention, if practicable, to make a capitulation in favor of the property; if not, to defend it as long as possible.

A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the insurgents to the house to demand that the inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied, that the inspector had left the house upon their

\* Brackenridge, i. 6; iii. 1. Findley p. 79, 84. American State Papers, xx. 110, 111.





first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house, and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office. But not satisfied with this, they insisted, unconditionally, that the armed men who were in the house for its defence, should march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those in the house, which, it is said, lasted for near an hour, till the assailants, having set fire to the neighboring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded, and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed, is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James McFarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling-house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings, the whole of which were consumed to the ground. The loss of property to the inspector, upon this occasion, is estimated, and, as it is believed with great moderation, at not less than three thousand pounds, or ten thousand dollars.

The marshal, Col. Presly Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the inspector's house. All, except the marshal and Col. Neville, soon made their escape; but these were carried off some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the marshal in particular, suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party frequently presented their pieces at him with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and more prudent.

Nor could he obtain safety nor liberty, but upon the condition of a promise, guaranteed by Col. Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Allegheny Mountain. The alternative being immediate death, extorted from the marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which were witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.



The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburgh, to require of the marshal, a surrender of the process in his possession, intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people, and add to his safety ; and also to demand of Gen. Neville, in peremptory terms the resignation of his office ; threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force ; demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the inspector and the marshal, to quit that place ; and, as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route, to the seat of Government ; which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.

The following points, which are of great importance, do not appear in the above narrative. First, it seems the attack was so deliberate that a committee of three was chosen to superintend it, who sat upon an elevation, and directed the various movements. Second, it seems that the object aimed at was the destruction of official papers, and not property or life. Third, McFarlane, the commander of the rebels, was shot dead, when he exposed himself in consequence of a call from the house to cease firing ; this was regarded as intentional murder on the part of the defenders. Fourth, there is no doubt as to the burning having been authorized by the committee of attack.\*

The attack upon Neville's house was an outrage of so violent a character, and the feeling that caused it was of so mixed a nature, that further movements were of necessity, to be expected. Those who thought themselves justified, as the early actors in the Revolution had been, would of course go forward ; those who anticipated the vengeance of the laws, thought it safer to press on and make the rebellion formidable, than to stop and so be unable to hope for terms from the government : [which, as Brackenridge states, was the case with Bradford,] the depraved looked for plunder, the depressed for a chance to rise, the ambitious had the great men of France in view before them, and the cowardly followed what they dared not try to withstand.

\* American State Papers, xx. 112.—Findley, 86, 87.—Breckenridge, i. 18, 19.—American Pioneer, ii. 207.



These various feelings showed themselves at a meeting held July 23d, at Mingo creek, the particulars of which are given by Brackenridge, who attended, in a vivid and clear narrative. The masses were half-mad, filled with true Parisian fury, and drove their apparent leaders powerless before them. At this gathering, a general convention to meet on the 14th of August, at Parkinson's Ferry, now Williamsport, upon the Monogahela, was agreed on; but the more violent meanwhile determined upon steps that would entirely close the way to reconciliation with the Government: these were, first, the robbery of the mail, by which they expected to learn who were their chief opponents; next, the expulsion from the country of the persons thus made known; and, lastly, the seizure of the United States arms and ammunition at Pittsburgh. The leading man in these desperate acts was David Bradford, an attorney and politician of some eminence. The first step was successfully taken on the 26th of July, and General John Gibson, Colonel Presly Neville, son of General John Neville, and three others, were found to have written letters in relation to the late proceedings. This being known, the people of Pittsburgh were requested by the Jacobins of the country to expel these persons forthwith, and such was the fear of the citizens that the order was obeyed, though unwillingly.\* But the third project succeeded less perfectly. In order to effect it, a meeting of the masses had been called for August 1st, at Braddock's field; this call was made in the form usual for militia musters, and all were notified to come armed and equipped. Brackenridge was again present, though in fear and trembling. Terror, indeed, appears to have ruled as perfectly as beyond the Atlantic. The Pittsburgh representatives had gone to the conference from fear of being thought lukewarm in the rebel cause, and finding themselves suspected, passed the day in fear. The object of the gathering, an attack upon the United States arsenal, had been divulged to few, and upon further consultation was abandoned. But it was determined to march to Pittsburgh at any rate, for the purpose of intimidating the disaffected, robbing a few houses, and burning a few stores. The women of the country had gathered to see

\* See Brackenridge's *Incidents of the Insurrection of 1794*, l. 30, 39, 45, 52, 66. vol iii, 148. Findley's *History of the Whisky Insurrection*, pp. 91, 93, 95, 103. *American Pioneer*, l. 65.



the sack of the city at the Fork—and it was with difficulty that the conflagration and robbery were prevented; the leaders in general opposed the excesses of their followers; the brother of the murdered McFarlane protected the property of Major Kirkpatrick, and as others who were most interested in the insurrection, showed equal vigor in the prevention of violence, the march to Pittsburgh resulted in nothing worse than the burning of a few barns and sheds.\*

When a knowledge of the attack on Neville's house and the subsequent proceedings reached the Federal Government, it was thought to be time to take decided steps. On the 5th of August, Hamilton laid the whole matter before the President; Judge Wilson of the Supreme Court, having on the 4th certified the western counties to be in a state of insurrection; and upon the 7th, Washington issued his Proclamation giving notice that every means in his power would be used to put down the rebellion. As it was his wish, however, and also that of Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, that no pains should be spared to prevent a recourse to arms, Commissioners were appointed, three by the United States and two by the State, to visit the West, and try to procure an abandonment of the insurrection without bloodshed. [The Commissioners on the part of the United States, were James Ross, a Senator in Congress, and a gentleman very popular with the people in western Pennsylvania, Jasper Yeates, an Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of that State; and William Bradford, the Attorney General of the United States. Those on the part of Pennsylvania were Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of the State; and William Irvine, a Representative in Congress. Their instructions are in the American State Papers, vol. xx. p. 86.]

When these messengers reached the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, the meeting at Parkinson's ferry was in session, and Gallatin and others were trying to prevent matters from becoming worse than they already were. This meeting, upon receiving notice of the approach of the Commissioners, agreed to send a committee of conference, to treat with them; and at the same time, named a standing committee, one from each

\* See correspondence of Governor Mifflin and Mr. Randolph in American State Papers  
xx. 97 to 106.





township, making sixty in number, to whom the former were to report, and who were authorized to call a new meeting of deputies or recall the old ones, in order to accept or reject the terms offered on the part of Government. [The conferees were from the counties of Westmoreland, Alleghany, Fayette and Washington in Pennsylvania, and Ohio county in Virginia.\*]

On the 21st of August the Commissioners and Committee of conference met, and after some discussion agreed upon terms, which the representatives of the insurgents thought their constituents would do well to accept. They were then submitted to the standing committee, but in that body so much fear and mutual distrust prevailed, as to lead to a mere recommendation to the people to accept the terms offered, by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-three, while the committee themselves failed to give the pledges which had been required of them. This state of things and the knowledge of the fact that even the recommendation was obtained only by shielding the voters through a vote by ballot, proved to the agents for Government that little was yet done towards tranquilizing the country. All the committee-men and leaders were in dread of popular violence, and after various letters had passed, and a second committee of conference had agreed that it would be wise to adopt the terms offered by the Government,† the question was referred to the people themselves, who were to sign their names to pledges prepared for the purpose; by which pledges they bound themselves to obey the law and help its operation, or unwilling to do this they were to refuse distinctly to sign any such promise. This trial of popular sentiment was to take place on the 11th of September, in the presence of persons who had been at Parkinson ferry meeting, or of magistrates; and the result of the vote was to be by them certified to the Commissioners. It would have been well to have given a longer time that the good disposition of the leaders might have had an opportunity of spreading among the people, but as the President in his proclamation had re-

\* See Boston Independent Chronicle, Sept. 1st, 1794—United States Gazette, Sept. 9—American State Papers, vol. xx. 93—Brackenridge, i. 77, note—U. S. Gazette, August 22d, 1794.

† American State Papers, xx. 87 to 97; U. S. Gazette, September 6; Brackenridge, i. 117; Boston Independent Chronicle, for September 22d, 1794.



quired a dispersion by the 1st of September, it was thought impossible to wait. On the 11th a vote was taken, but very imperfect and unsatisfactory. In some portions of the country, men openly refused obedience to the law; in some, they were silent; in some they merely voted by ballot for and against submission; and upon the whole gave so little proof of a disposition to support the legal officers that the judges of the vote did not feel willing to give certificates that offices of inspection could be safely established in the several counties, and the Commissioners were forced to return to Philadelphia without having accomplished their objects. On the 24th of September they reported their proceedings and failure to the President; who, upon the 25th, called the militia of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, into the field under the command of Henry Lee, Governor of the State last named. Washington himself visited the troops and met some deputations from the western counties, but was unable to accompany the army to Pittsburgh, whither, however, General Hamilton went to represent the Executive. No resistance was offered to the army, although the soldiers in many cases showed a spirit as bad as that of the rebels, and most needless cruelty was in some cases practiced. Bradford, and a few of the most prominent friends of violence, fled to the Spanish provinces of the south-west. To prevent a renewal of the insurrection, and secure obedience to the law, an armed force under General Morgan remained through the winter west of the mountains. Thus, at a cost of \$669,992 34, the whisky riots were ended.\*

But there is reason to think that the money was well spent; and that the insurrection was a wholesome eruption. It served several good purposes; it alarmed the wiser portion of the Democratic party, who saw how much of Jacobin fury lay hidden in the American people; it proved to the wiser part of the friends of the administration, that the societies they so much hated, even if they originated the evil feelings prevalent in the West, would not countenance the riotous acts that follow-

\* American State Papers, xx. 89, 90, 76, 97, 112; also vol. vii. 661. United States Gazette, (1794,) September 5th. 6th, 12th, 22d and 26th. Boston Independent Chronicle, October 2d. Sparks' Washington, x. 439, 441, 450. Findley's History of the Insurrection. Brackenridge, ii. 79, and many other pages. American Pioneer, i. 213. Marshall's Washington, v. 539.

For Washington's speech of November 19, 1794, see Sparks' Washington, xii. 44 to 52.



ed. The unruly portion of the western people was awed by the energy of the Executive, and to those who loved order, the readiness of the militia to march to the support of Government was evidence of a much better disposition than most had hoped to find. In addition to these advantages, we may name the activity of business, caused by the expenditure of so large a sum in the west, and the increase of frontier population from the ranks of the army. [And the Editor thinks the Government learned a very important lesson, that mere law, backed by force, cannot regulate the affairs of the nation; that the imposition of taxes by excise, or in any other form, cannot be carried out by mere authority; and that, while our government is one of law, it is also one of enlightened public opinion.

A few additional facts, selected from Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, p. 670, will close this sketch.

The province of Pennsylvania, as early as 1756, had looked to the excise on ardent spirits for the means of sustaining its bills of credit. The original law, passed to continue only ten years, was from time to time continued, as necessities pressed upon the treasury. During the revolution, the law was generally evaded in the west, by considering all spirits as *for domestic use*, such being excepted from excise; but when the debts of the revolution began to press upon the states, they became more vigilant in the enforcement of the law. Opposition arose at once in the western counties. Liberty-poles were erected, and the people assembled in arms, chased off the officers appointed to enforce the law. The object of the people was to compel a repeal of the law, but they had not the least idea of subverting the government.

The pioneers of this region, descended as they were from North Britain and Ireland, had come very honestly by their love of whiskey; and many of them had brought their hatred of an exciseman from the old country. The western insurgents followed, as they supposed, the recent example of the American revolution. The first attempt of the British parliament—the very cause of the revolution, had been an excise law. There was nothing in that day disreputable in either making or drinking whisky.

No temperance societies then existed; to drink whisky was as common and honorable as to eat bread; the fame of "old Monongahela" was proverbial, both at the east and the west. Distilling was then esteemed as moral and respectable as any other business. It was early commenced, and extensively carried on in western Pennsylvania. There was neither home nor foreign market for rye, their principal crop; the



grain would not bear packing across the mountains. Whisky, therefore, was the most important item of remittance to pay for their salt, sugar and iron. The people had cultivated their land for years at the peril of their lives, with little or no protection from the Federal Government; and when, by extraordinary efforts, they were enabled to raise a little more grain than their immediate wants required, they were met with a law restraining them in the liberty of doing what they pleased with the surplus. The people of western Pennsylvania regarded a tax on whisky in the same light as the citizens of Ohio would now regard a United States tax on lard, pork, or flour.

It is but justice to General John Neville and his descendants, that we should give the following extract from the pen of the late Judge Wilkeson, to be recorded. It is to be found, with much other valuable matter, in his "Early Recollections of the West."\*

In order to allay opposition, (to the excise law,) as far as possible, General John Neville, a man of the most deserved popularity, was appointed collector for western Pennsylvania. He accepted the appointment from a sense of duty to his country. He was one of the few men of wealth, who had put his all at hazard for independence. At his own expense, he raised and equipped a company of soldiers, marched them to Boston, and placed them, with his son, under the command of General Washington. He was the brother-in-law to the distinguished General Morgan, and father-in-law to Majors Craig and Kirkpatrick, officers highly respected in the western country. Besides General Neville's claims as a soldier and patriot, he had contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of the settlers in his vicinity. He divided his last loaf with the needy; and in a season of more than ordinary scarcity, he opened his fields to those who were suffering with hunger. If any man could have executed this odious law, General Neville was that man.]

[During the period in which we have traced the "Annals of the West" in this chapter, we must not omit the notice of settlements formed in that part of the North Western Territory, now included within the State of Ohio. And the first is the settlement of Galliopolis, commonly called Gallipolis.]

In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land" in the west. In 1790, this gentleman distributed proposals in Paris, for the sale of lands, at five shillings per acre, which

\*American Pioneer, ii. 207.—Day's Pennsylvania, 671. note.





promised, says Volney, "a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as frost in winter; a river, called by way of eminence, 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles: venison in abundance, without foxes, wolves, lions or tigers; no taxes to pay; no military enrolments; no quarters to find for soldiers. Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and, in the course of 1791, some embarked at Havre, others at Bordeaux, Nantes, or Rochelle," each with his title deed in his pocket. Five hundred settlers, among whom were not a few carvers and gilders to his majesty, coachmakers, friseurs, and peruke makers, and other artizans and *artistes*, equally well fitted for a backwoods life, arrived in the United States in 1791-92; and, acting without concert, traveling without knowledge of the language, customs or roads, they at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence, after expending nearly or quite, the whole proceeds of their sales in France.\*

They reached the spot designated, but it was only to learn, that the persons whose title deeds they held, did not own one foot of land, and that they had parted with all their worldly goods merely to reach a wilderness, which they knew not how to cultivate, in the midst of a people, of whose speech and ways they knew nothing, and at the very moment when the Indians were carrying destruction to every white man's hearth. Without food, without land, with little money, no experience, and with want and danger closing round them, they were in a position that none but Frenchmen could be in without despair.

Who brought them to this pass? Volney says, the Scioto Company, which had bought of the Ohio Company; Mr. Hall says in his *Letters from the West*, (p. 137,) a company who had obtained a grant from the United States; and, in his *Statistics of the West*, (p. 164,) the Scioto Company, which was formed from or by the Ohio Company, as a subordinate. Barlow, he says, was sent to Europe by the Ohio Company; and by them the lands in question were conveyed to the Scioto

\* Volney's view of the climate and soil of the United States, &c. The sugar-tree was the maple, and the wax-bearing myrtle, the shrub that yielded candles.

Brackenridge's *Recollections*, p. 42.



Company. Kilbourn says, "the Scioto Land Company, which intended to buy of Congress all the tract between the western boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto, directed the French settlers to Gallipolis, supposing it to be west of the Ohio Company's purchase, though it proved not to be." The Company, he tells us, failed to make their payments, and the whole proposed purchase remained with government.\*

The truth undoubtedly is, that those for whom Barlow acted, were the persons referred to by Doctor Cutler, who joined with the Ohio Company in their purchase to the extent of three and one-half millions of acres; among whom, he says, were many of the principal characters of America. [This is demonstrated by the fact, that Col. Duer, who applied to Dr. Cutler "to take in another company," as the agent of the Scioto company, did receive the French Immigrants and send them to Gallipolis.†] These persons, however, never paid for their lands, and could give no title to the emigrants they had allured across the ocean. Their excuse was, that their agents had deceived them, but it was a plea good neither in morals or law. Who those agents were, and how far they were guilty, and how far the company was so, are points which seem to be still involved in doubt.‡

But, whatever doubt there may be as to the causes of the suffering, there can be none as to the sufferers. The poor gilders, and carvers, and peruke-makers, who had followed a jack-a-lantern into the "howling wilderness," found that their lives depended upon their labor. They must clear the ground, build their houses, and till their fields. Now the spot upon which they had been located by the Scioto Company was covered in part with those immense sycamore trees, which are so frequent along the rivers of the west, and to remove which is no small undertaking even for the American woodman. The coach-makers were wholly at a loss; but at last, hoping to conquer by a *coup-de-main*, they tied ropes to the branches, and while one dozen pulled at them with might and main, another dozen went at the trunk with axes, hatchets, and every variety of edged tool, and by dint of perseverance and cheerfulness, at

\* Kilbourn's Gazetteer, 1831.

† American State Papers, xvi. 30.

‡ M. Meulette, one of the settlers, in American Pioneer, ii. 185.



length overcome the monster, though not without some hair-breadth escapes; for when a mighty tree, that had been hacked on all sides, fell, it required a Frenchman's heels to avoid the sweep of the wide-spread branches. But when they had felled the last vegetable, they were little better off than before; for they could not move or burn it. At last a good idea came to their aid; and while some chopped off the limbs, others dug, by the side of the trunk, a great grave, into which, with many a heave, they rolled their fallen enemy.

Their houses they did not build in the usual straggling American style, but made two rows or blocks of log-cabins, each cabin being about sixteen feet square; while at one end was a larger room, which was used as a council-chamber and ball-room.

In the way of cultivation they did little. The land was not theirs, and they had no motive to improve it; and, moreover, their coming was in the midst of the Indian war. Here and there a little vegetable garden was formed: but their main supply of food they were forced to buy from boats on the river, by which means their remaining funds were sadly broken in upon. Five of their number were taken prisoners by the Indians; food became scarce; in the fall, a marsh behind the town sent up miasm that produced fevers; then winter came, and, despite Mr. Barlow's promise, brought frost in plenty; and, by and by, they heard from beyond seas of the carnage that was desolating the fire-sides they had left. Never were men in a more mournful situation; but still, twice in the week, the whole colony came together, and to the sound of the violin danced off hunger and care. The savage scout that had been lurking all day in the thicket, listened to the strange music, and hastening to his fellows, told them, that the whites would be upon them, for he had seen them at their war-dance; and the careful Connecticut man, as he guided his broadhorn in the shadow of the Virginia shore, wondered what mischief "the red varmint" were at next; or, if he knew the sound of the fiddle, shook his head, as he thought of the whisky that must have been used to produce all that merriment.

But French vivacity, though it could work wonders, could not pay for land. Some of the Galliopolis settlers went to Detroit, others to Kaskaskia; a few bought their lands of the



Ohio Company, who treated them with great liberality; and in 1795, Congress, being informed of the circumstances, granted to the sufferers twenty-four thousand acres of land opposite Little Sandy River, to which, in 1798, twelve hundred acres more were added; which tract has since been known as *French Grant*.

The influence of this settlement upon the State was unimportant; but it forms a curious little episode in Ohio history, and affords a strange example of national character.\*

During this period, however, other settlements had been taking place in Ohio, which in their influence upon the destinies of the State were deeply felt; we mean that of the Virginia Reserve, between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, that of the Connecticut Reserve, and that of Dayton.

In 1787, the reserved lands of the Old Dominion, north of the Ohio, were examined, and in August of that year entries were commenced. Against the validity of these entries, Congress, in 1788, entered their protest. This protest, which was practically a prohibition of settlement, was withdrawn in 1790. As soon as this was done, it became an object to have surveys made in the reserved region, but as this was an undertaking of great danger, in consequence of the Indian wars, high prices in land or money had to be paid to the surveyors. The person who took the lead in this gainful but unsafe enterprise was Nathaniel Massie, then twenty-seven years old. He had been for six years or more in the west, and had prepared himself in Colonel Anderson's office for the details of his business. Thus prepared, in December, 1790, he entered into the following contract with certain persons therein named:†

Articles of agreement between Nathaniel Massie, of one part, and the several persons that have hereunto subscribed, of the other part, witnesseth, that the subscribers hereof doth oblige themselves to settle in the town laid off, on the north-west side of the Ohio, opposite to the lower part of the Two Islands; and make said town, or the neighborhood, on the north-west side of the Ohio, their permanent seat of residence for two years from the date hereof; no subscriber shall

\* See the communication of Mr. Meulette referred to above. We have something from oral communications. Also *American Pioneer*, i. 94, 95. *American State Papers*, xvi. 29.

† McDonald's Sketches, 26. *American Pioneer*, i. 72, 433. *Old Journals*, iv. 836. Passed July 17th. From one-fourth to one-half of the lands surveyed, ten pounds, Virginia currency, per thousand acres, beside chain-men's expenses. [McDonald, 28.]





absent himself more than two months at a time, and during such absence furnish a strong, able-bodied man sufficient to bear arms at least equal to himself; no subscriber shall absent himself the time above mentioned in case of actual danger, nor shall such absence be but once a year; no subscriber shall absent himself in case of actual danger, or if absent shall return immediately. Each of the subscribers doth oblige themselves to comply with the rules and regulations that shall be agreed on by a majority thereof for the support of the settlement.

In consideration whereof, Nathaniel Massie doth bind and oblige himself, his heirs, &c., to make over and convey to such of the subscribers that comply with the above mentioned conditions, at the expiration of two years, a good and sufficient title unto one in-lot in said town, containing five poles in front and eleven back, one out-lot of four acres convenient to said town, in the bottom, which the said Massie is to put them in immediate possession of, also one hundred acres of land, which the said Massie has shown to a part of the subscribers; the conveyance to be made to each of the subscribers, their heirs or assigns.

In witness whereof, each of the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 1st day of December, 1790.

The town thus laid off was situated some twelve miles above Maysville, and was called Manchester; it is still known to the voyager on the Ohio. From this point Massie and his companions made surveying expeditions through the perilous years from 1791 to 1796, but though often distressed and in danger, they were never wearied nor afraid; and at length, with Wayne's treaty all danger of importance was at an end.\*

Connecticut, as we have stated, had, in 1786 resigned her claims to western lands, with the exception of a reserved tract extending one hundred and twenty miles beyond Pennsylvania. Of this tract, so far as the Indian title was extinguished, a survey was ordered in October, 1786, and an office opened for its disposal: part was sold, and in 1792, half a million of acres were given to those citizens of Connecticut, who had lost property by the acts of the British troops, during the Revolutionary War, at New London, New Haven and elsewhere; these lands are known as the "Firelands" and the "Sufferers' lands," and lie in the western part of the Reserve.†

\*McDonald's Sketch of General Massie.

† American State Papers, v. 626.



In May, 1795, the Legislature of Connecticut authorized a committee to take steps for the disposal of the remainder of their western domain; this committee made advertisement accordingly, and before autumn had disposed of it to fifty-six persons, forming the Connecticut Land Company, for one million two hundred thousand dollars, and upon the 5th or 9th of September, quit claimed to the purchasers the whole title of the State, territorial and juridical.\* These purchasers, on the same day, conveyed the three millions of acres transferred to them by the State, to John Morgan, John Caldwell, and Jonathan Brace, in trust; and upon the quit-claim deeds of those trustees, the titles to all real estate in the Western Reserve, of necessity, rest. Surveys were commenced in 1796, and by the close of 1797, all the lands east of the Cuyahoga were divided into townships five miles square. The agent of the Connecticut Land Company was General Moses Cleveland, and in honor of him the leading city of the Reserve, in 1796, received its name. That township and five others were retained for private sale, and the remainder were disposed of by a lottery, the first drawing in which took place in February, 1798.†

Wayne's treaty also led at once to the foundation of Dayton, and the peopling of that fertile region. The original proposition by Symmes had been for the purchase of two millions of acres between the Miamies; this was changed very shortly to a contract for one million, extending from the Great Miami eastwardly twenty miles; but the contractor being unable to pay for all he wished, in 1792, a patent was issued for 248,540 acres. But although his tract was by contract limited toward the east, and greatly curtailed in its extent toward the north, by his failure to pay the whole amount due, Judge Symmes had not hesitated to sell lands lying between the eastern boundary of his purchase and the Little Miami, and even after his patent issued continued to dispose of an imaginary right in those north of the quantity patented. The first irregularity, the sale of lands along the Little Miami, was cured by the act of Congress in 1792, which authorized the extension of his purchase from one river to the other;

\*For the title of Connecticut and the above facts, see *American State Papers*, xvi. 94 to 98, and *American Pioneer*, ii. 24.

†See *American Pioneer*, ii. 23, &c.



but the sales of territory north of the tract transferred to him by Congress, were so entirely unauthorized in the view of the government, that in 1796 it refused to recognize them as valid, and those who had become purchasers beyond the patent line, were at the mercy of the Federal rulers, until an act was procured in their favor in 1799, by which pre-emption rights were secured to them. Among those who were thus left in suspense during three years, were the settlers throughout the region of which Dayton forms the centre.\*

Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, St. Clair, Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton and Israel Ludlow contracted with Symmes for the seventh and eighth ranges between Mad river and the Little Miami. Three settlements were to be made, one at the mouth of Mad River, one on the Little Miami, in the seventh range, and another on the Mad river. On the 21st of September, 1795, Daniel C. Cooper started to survey and mark out a road in the purchase, and John Dunlap to run its boundaries, which was done before the 4th of October. Upon the 4th of November, Mr. Ludlow laid off the town of Dayton, which was disposed of by lottery.†

From 1790 to 1795, the Governor and Judges of the Northwest Territory published sixty-four statutes. Thirty-four of these were adopted at Cincinnati, during June, July and August of the last named year, and were intended to form a pretty complete body of statutory provisions: they are known as the Maxwell Code, from the name of the publisher, but were passed by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner. Among them was that which provided that the common law of England and all statutes in aid thereof made previous to the fourth year of James the 1st, should be in full force within the territory. Of the system, as a whole, Mr. Chase says, that with many imperfections, "it may be doubted whether any colony, at so early a period after its first establishment, ever had one so good."‡

Just after the conclusion of Wayne's treaty, a speculation in Michigan of the most gigantic kind was undertaken by

\*See for the full particulars of Symmes' contract, *American State Papers*, xvi. 75, 104 127.

†See B. Vancleve's *Memoranda*, *American Pioneer*, ii. 294, 295.

‡Sketch of History of Ohio, p. 27. For the laws from 1790 to 1795, see Chase's *Statutes*, l. 103 to 204.



certain astute New Englanders, named Robert Randall, Chas. Whitney, Israel Jones, Ebenezer Allen, &c., who, in connection with various persons in and about Detroit, proposed to buy of the Indians eighteen or twenty million acres, lying on lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, the pre-emption right of which they hoped to obtain from the United States, by giving members of Congress an interest in the investment. Some of the members who were approached, however, revealed the plan, and Randall, the principal conspirator, having been reprimanded, the whole speculation disappeared.\*

Another enterprise, equally gigantic, but far less objectionable, dates from the 20th of February, 1795; we refer to the North American Land Company, which was formed in Philadelphia under the management of Robert Morris, John Nicholson, and James Greenleaf. This Company owned vast tracts in various States, which, under an agreement bearing date as above, were offered to the public.†

But we have hitherto taken no notice of Jay's treaty in so far as it concerned the west; nor have we mentioned the negotiations with Spain which secured the use of the Mississippi. To these we may now turn. The portion of Mr. Jay's treaty with which we are concerned, is the second article, and that is as follows:

ART. 2. His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrison from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and all the proper measures shall be taken in the interval by concert between the government of the United States and His Majesty's Governor General in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts: the United States, in the mean time, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts. All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts, shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property, of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses or effects, or retain the property

\* See papers and evidence, American State Papers, xx. 125 to 133.

† Observations on the North American Land Company, London, 1796. Imlay (Ed. 1797) p. 572.





thereof, at their discretion ; such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof ; but they shall be at full liberty so to do if they think proper ; they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects to His Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.\*

Turning to the negotiation with Spain, we find, that in November, 1794, Thomas Pinckney was despatched to treat with the court of Madrid, in relation to boundaries to the Mississippi, and to general trade. Many reams of paper had been spoiled by previous messengers, Jay, Carmichael and Short, to little purpose, and it was a matter of three months' farther correspondence, to mature the treaty of October 27th, 1795. This treaty, signed by plain Thomas Pinckney, "a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to His Catholic Majesty," on the one part, and on the other by "the most Excellent Lord Don Manuel de Godoy and Alvarez de Faria, Rios, Sanchez, Zarzosa, Prince de la Paz, Duke de la Alcudia, Lord of the Soto de Roma and of the State of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the first class, Perpetual Regidor of the city of Santiago, Knight of the illustrious order of the Golden Fleece and Great Cross of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III., commander of Valencia del Ventoso Rivera, and Aceuchal in that of Santiago, Knight and Great Cross of the religious order of St. John, Counsellor of State, First Secretary of State and Despacho, Secretary to the Queen, Superintendent General of the Ports and Highways, Protector of the Royal Academy of the noble Arts and of the Royal Societies of Natural History, Botany, Chemistry, and Astronomy, Gentleman of the King's Chamber, in employment, Captain General of his armies, Inspector and Major of the Royal Corps of Body Guards, &c. &c. &c."† contains, among other provisions, the following, once deeply interesting to the West.

\*American State Papers, i. 520. For the treaty and correspondence entire, see American State Papers, i. 470 to 525.

†The after history of this man of many titles is a lesson worth the study of all those in power : see his memoirs translated, London, 1836 ; also an article in Westminster Review, for April, 1836.



ART. 4. It is likewise agreed that the Western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said States to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention.

And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the fourth article, His Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and his Majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment.\*

This being approved, closed the Mississippi question and defeated the plans of Sebastian.

\*American State Papers, i. 547, 549. For treaty, see American State Papers, i. 546 to 549. For Pinckney's Correspondence, do. 533 to 546. For that of Jay, Carmichael and Short, do. 131, 243 to 273, 323, 433 to 446.



## CHAPTER XV.

### EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENTS.

Survey of Chillicothe and Cleveland—Settlements in Ohio—Progress in Tennessee—Interference of Spain, and Power's mission—Organization of Mississippi Territory—Nullification in Kentucky—First Legislative Assembly of the Northwest—Constitution of Kentucky amended.

The great event of 1796, was the final transfer of the northern posts from Britain to the United States, under Jay's treaty. This was to have taken place on or before the 1st of June, but owing to the late period at which the House of Representatives, after their memorable debate upon the treaty, passed the necessary appropriations, it was July before the American Government felt itself justified in addressing the authorities in Canada in regard to Detroit and the other frontier forts. When at last called upon to give them up, the British at once did so, and Wayne transferred his head quarters to the neighborhood of the Lakes, where a county named from him was established, including the northwest of Ohio, the northeast of Indiana, and the whole of Michigan.\* Meanwhile, the treaty with Spain was likely to become ineffectual in consequence of the alliance of Spain and France upon the 19th of August, and the difficulties which, at the same time, arose between the latter power and the United States. Spain took advantage of the new position of affairs to refuse the delivery of the posts on the Mississippi as had been stipulated, and proceeded, as we have already related, to tempt the honesty of leading western politicians.†

During this year settlements went on rapidly in the West. Early in the year Nathaniel Massie, of whom we have already spoken, took steps to found a town upon the Scioto, on a portion of the lands which he had entered. This town he named, when surveyed, Chillicothe.

\* Washington's speech, American State Papers, i. 30. Chase's Sketch p. 27.

† Pitkins' History United States, ii. 484—American State Papers, i. 559 to 760—Adams' Speech, American State Papers, i. 44. Documents, do. ii. 20, &c. 66, &c. 78, &c.



"One hundred in and out-lots in the town, were chosen by lot, by the first one hundred settlers, as a donation, according to the original proposition of the proprietor. A number of in and out-lots were also sold to other persons, desiring to settle in the town. The first choice of in-lots were disposed of for the moderate sum of ten dollars each. The town increased rapidly, and before the winter of 1796, it had in it several stores, taverns, and shops for mechanics. The arts of civilized life soon began to unfold their power and influence in a more systematic manner, than had ever been witnessed by many of its inhabitants, especially those who were born and raised in the frontier settlements, where neither law nor gospel were understood or attended to."\*

[There were three places in Ohio, called Chillicothe by the Indians, one of which was in the neighborhood of this town site. It is a Shawanese word, and denotes *place* or *site*. Old Chillicothe was on the Little Miami, and the other was on or near the Maumee, or Miami of the Lake. The Shawanese nation, which originated from the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida, was divided into four tribes; the Piqua, Mequachake, Kiskapocoke, and Chillicothe tribes.

We have already given the fact of the reservation made by Connecticut, of the tract of country in the northeast part of Ohio, known as the "Western Reserve," and of the sale of this tract to the "Connecticut Land Company."

In September, 1796, the town of Cleveland was surveyed, and by a treaty with the Iroquois, all their claims to the tract east of the river Cuyahoga, were surrendered to the Connecticut Land Company.

Cleveland, on Lake Erie, was regarded as an important site for a commercial city. It is on a dry, sandy plain, between the Lake and Cuyahoga river; gently sloping towards the Lake, with a fine water view. It was a point of note in the journeyings of the aborigines.

The Land Company already mentioned, was organized in Hartford, Con., on the 5th of September, 1795. The next year, the trustees sent out forty-three surveyors, who were instructed to divide that part of the Western Reserve that lay east of the Cuyahoga river into townships, five miles square. The

\* McDonald's Sketches, pp. 56, 60 to 64.





first resident in Cleveland was a Mr. Job Stiles and family, and Mrs. Stiles was mother of the first white child born on the Reserve. Immigrants came slowly to the country; a majority being from Connecticut, and the peculiar characteristics of the puritans of that ancient state, with some modifications, still prevail on the Western Reserve.\*

In the western section of the present state of Ohio, settlers and speculators appeared in much larger numbers.

A detachment of American troops, consisting of sixty-five men, under the command of Captain Moses Porter, took possession of the evacuated fort at Detroit, about the 12th of July. In September, Winthrop Sergeant, Secretary of the North Western Territory, proceeded to Detroit, and organized the county of Wayne, and established the civil authority in that quarter.

This year, also, the settlements in the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami valleys, were much extended. The immigrants from the New England and middle states, came into the West by way of Brownsville and Wheeling. At Brownsville many fitted up flat boats and descended the Ohio to Limestone, and other points in Kentucky, or else landed on the north side of the Ohio. Others proceeded by land from Wheeling, to that section of the territory they had selected for their future homes. The colonies destined for the valleys of the Muskingum and Scioto chiefly passed by this route.

Small villages and farming settlements were made on the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries below the Muskingum. Symmes' purchase, on the Miami, underwent rapid changes.

Cincinnati had increased its population and improved its style of buildings. In 1792, it contained about thirty log cabins, besides the barracks and other buildings connected with Fort Washington; and about two hundred and fifty inhabitants.

The first house of worship, for the first Presbyterian Church, was erected. In the beginning of the year 1796, Cincinnati had more than one hundred log cabins, beside twelve or fifteen frame houses, and a population of about six hundred persons.†

Within the Virginia Military Land District, which lay be-

\* See an article by Charles Whittlesey, Esq. in the *American Pioneer*, ii. 22, 31.

† Cincinnati in 1841, p. 29—Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 313.



tween the Little Miami and Scioto rivers, several new settlements were made, and surveys were executed by Nathaniel Massie, the enterprising pioneer of the Scioto valley, over the most fertile lands westward to the Little Miami, as far north as Todd's fork, and on all the branches of Paint Creek, and eastward to the Scioto. He performed much service as a pioneer in extending the settlements and the boundaries of civilization in this part of Ohio. As early as 1790, he laid out the town of Manchester, on the Ohio, twelve miles above Limestone. By the following March, he had his stockade complete, and about thirty families within it.

Emigrants from Virginia, in great numbers, advanced into the Scioto valley, and settlements extended on the fine lands lying on Paint and Deer creeks, and other branches of the Scioto.

At the same time the pioneers of civilization were gradually extending settlements along the Muskingum as far as the mouth of Licking. It was in this year that Ebenezer Zane obtained the grant of a section of land as the consideration of opening a bridle-path from the Ohio river at Wheeling, across the country by Chillicothe to Limestone, in Kentucky, which was located where Zanesville now is. The United States' mail traversed this route for the first time the following year.\*

Before the close of the year 1796, the white population of the North Western Territory, now included in the State of Ohio, had increased to about five thousand souls of all ages. These were chiefly distributed in the lower valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto and Miami rivers, and on their small tributaries, within fifty miles of the Ohio river.

With this progress of settlements, the end of the Indian war by the treaty at Greenville, and the delivery of the northern posts by the British, under Jay's treaty, all apprehension of danger on the part of the whites ceased, and friendly intercourse with the natives succeeded. Such disaffected Indians as persisted in their feelings of hostility to the Americans, retired into the interior of the North Western wilderness, or to their allies in Canada. Forts, stations and stockades, became useless, and were abandoned to decay. The hardy pioneer pushed further into the forest, and men of enterprize and capi-

\* Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 316.



tal in the older settlements, became interested in securing claims and titles to extensive bodies of fertile lands, and sending out colonies for their occupation. Settlements were made, and towns and villages planted in Western Virginia and Kentucky.

During the period in which the "Annals" of the northwest have been given, in this and the preceding chapters, frequent acts of hostility were committed by the Cherokees and other southern Indians on the settlements in Tennessee, especially those along the Cumberland river. These depredations, in which many persons were killed and scalped, were committed by small marauding parties. The termination of the Indian war in the northwest, was followed by treaties with the southwestern Indians, and the cessation of hostilities in that quarter.

In 1790, North Carolina, which claimed jurisdiction over the territorial district of Tennessee, ceded to the Federal government all this territory. The ceded country, by act of Congress, approved May 20th, was erected into a territory of the United States, under the name of the "South Western Territory." The ordinance of 1787, for the North Western Territory, (with the exception of the sixth article, prohibiting slavery,) was adopted as the fundamental law in its organization.

Notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the Indians, large numbers of emigrants, each year, left Virginia, North and South Carolina, and even Georgia, for this district of country, and settlements continued to extend into the wilderness. In 1793, the people became impatient of their dependant form of government, and adopted an address to the governor, that as the territory contained more than five thousand free white male persons, (the requisite number, as provided by the ordinance of 1787,) they might have a territorial Legislature.

In December of that year, the Governor issued his proclamation for the election of a General Assembly, as provided by law.

The Legislature assembled at Knoxville, in February, 1794, and passed the necessary laws to open roads, protect the inhabitants from Indian depredations, and other matters.

(It ought to have been noticed in its proper place, that owing to the tardy and vascillating course of North Carolina, the peo-



ple, after several efforts to obtain what they supposed to be their rights, elected five deputies from each county, which met at Greenville, in November, 1785, formed a constitution, and proceeded to organize the "State of Frankland." A Legislature was chosen, and a delegation was sent to Congress with their constitution, asking for admission into the confederation, which was rejected, to avoid collision with North Carolina. The State government of Frankland, and that of North Carolina, attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the same territory, which collision continued for two years, when the new government, very reluctantly, yielded.)\*

According to a census ordered by the Territorial Legislature, in 1795, the aggregate population of the territory was 77,262 persons; of whom 66,490 were whites, and the remainder slaves and free persons of color. This amount of population more than entitled them to a State government, according to the provisions of the ordinance of Congress.

The governor of the territory issued his proclamation for an election of five persons in each county, to meet in convention, for the purpose of forming a constitution. This convention assembled at Knoxville, on the 11th of January, 1796, and formed the constitution, and on the 9th of February, governor Blount, forwarded to Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, a copy. This was sent by Mr. McMinn, who was instructed to tarry long enough in Philadelphia, to ascertain whether the new State would be admitted into the Union. On the 6th of June, the act was passed by Congress to receive the State of Tennessee.

Four years after the organization of the State government, the population had increased to 105,602 souls, including 13,584 slaves and persons of color.†

During 1796, Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless erected "Redstone paper-mill," four miles east of Brownsville; it being the first manufactory of the kind west of the Alleghanies.‡

In the month of December, 1796, General Anthony Wayne, being on his way from Detroit to Philadelphia, was attacked with sickness, and died in a cabin, at or near Erie, (Presqu'ile)

\* Monette's History, ii. 270—272. Haywood's Civil History, 140—160.

† Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee—Monette, ii. 230.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. 64.





in the north part of Pennsylvania. He was born in Chester county, Pa. January 1st, 1745; hence in a few days, had he lived, he would have been fifty-one years of age. He was a distinguished officer in the revolutionary war, a man of unparalleled bravery, and led the forlorn hope in the attack upon Stoney Point. His remains were removed from Presqu'île in 1809, by his son, Col. Isaac Wayne, to Radnor church-yard, near the place of his birth, and an elegant monument erected on his tomb by the Pennsylvania Cincinnati Society.\*

[Before the Spanish posts on the eastern side of the Mississippi were surrendered to the United States, according to the treaty of 1795, efforts were made by agents of France and Spain, to induce the people of the western country to separate themselves from the American Union, and to establish, in conjunction with France and Spain, an independent government in the Mississippi valley. After the death of Gen. Wayne, Gen. Wilkinson was appointed to the command of the United States' troops in this valley. In the month of June, 1797, the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General of Louisiana, sent Thomas Power, one of his agents, to General Wilkinson, with a letter, in which Wilkinson was requested to delay the march of the American troops for the posts on the Mississippi, until the adjustment of certain questions which were then pending between the government of the United States and that of Spain. The real object of the mission of Power was to ascertain the opinions and sentiments of the western people, on the subject of a separation from the Union.

In the mean time, and for some years preceding, the agents of Spain were engaged in enlisting the Indians in the southwest on their side, and the officers of that government proceeded to reinforce and strengthen their posts in Upper Louisiana. To understand the design of the mission of Power, it is necessary to lay before the reader the secret instructions of the Baron de Carondelet, dated on the 26th of May, 1797.†

"On your journey, you will give to understand adroitly, to those persons to whom you have an opportunity of speaking, that the delivery of the posts which the Spaniards occupy on the Mississippi, to the troops of the United States, is directly

\* Burnett's Letters, 49—Allen's American Biography—Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, p. 216—Encyclopedia Americana, vol. xiii. Article, Wayne.

† Dillon's Indiana, i. 410—Butler's Kentucky, p. 256—Marshall's Kentucky, vol. ii. 219.



opposed to the interest of those of the west, who, as they must one day separate from the Atlantic states, would find themselves without any communication with lower Louisiana, from whence they ought to expect to receive powerful succors in artillery, arms, ammunition and money, either publicly or secretly, as soon as ever the western states should determine on a separation, which must injure their prosperity and their independence; that, for this reason, Congress is resolved on risking every thing to take those posts from Spain; and that it would be forging fetters for themselves, to furnish it with militia and means, which it can only find in the western states. These same reasons, diffused abroad by means of the public papers, might make the strongest impressions on the people, and induce them to throw off the yoke of the Atlantic states.

\* \* \* If a hundred thousand dollars distributed in Kentucky would cause it to rise in insurrection, I am very certain, that the minister, in the present circumstances, would sacrifice them with pleasure; and you may, without exposing yourself too much, promise them to those who enjoy the confidence of the people, with another equal sum to arm them, in case of necessity, and twenty pieces of field artillery.

"You will arrive without danger, as bearer of a despatch for the General, where the army may be, whose force, discipline, and disposition, you will examine with care; and you will endeavor to discover, with your natural penetration, the General's disposition. I doubt that a person of his disposition would prefer, through vanity, the advantages of commanding the army of the Atlantic states, to that of being the founder, the liberator, in fine, the Washington of the Western states: his part is as brilliant as it is easy; all eyes are drawn towards him; he possesses the confidence of his fellow citizens, and of the Kentucky volunteers: at the slightest movement, the people will name him the General of the new republic; his reputation will raise an army for him, and Spain as well as France will furnish him the means of paying it. On taking Fort Massac, we will send him instantly arms and artillery; and Spain, limiting herself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, as far as fort Confederation, will cede to the western states all the eastern bank to the Ohio, which will form a very extensive and powerful republic, connected by its situation and by its interest, with Spain, and in concert with it, will force the savages to become a party to it, and to confound themselves in time with its citizens.

"The public are discontented with the new taxes; Spain and France are enraged at the connection of the United States with England; the army is weak and devoted to Wilkinson; the threats of Congress authorize me to succor, on the spot, and openly, the western states: money will not then be wanting to me, for I shall send without delay, a ship to Vera Cruz



in search of it, as well as of ammunition; nothing more will consequently be required, but an instant of firmness and resolution to make the people of the west perfectly happy. If they suffer this instant to escape them, and we are forced to deliver up the posts, Kentucky and Tennessee, surrounded by the said posts, and without communication with Lower Louisiana, will ever remain under the oppression of the Atlantic states."\*

"The emissary, Power, passed through Tennessee, Kentucky and the North Western Territory, as far as Detroit, where he found General Wilkinson, and communicated his message about the posts down the Mississippi. The General wrote a letter to Captain Robert Buntin of Vincennes, dated "Detroit, September 4th, 1797," in which he expresses fears that the posts would not be surrendered without war, but suggests the letter "may be a mask for other purposes."

The result of Power's mission, was the entire defeat of the project. Contrary to his remonstrances, he was obliged to return to Louisiana by the way of Vincennes and Fort Massac, under the escort of Captain Shaumberg, of the American army. It appears that the United States' government got information of this nefarious mission, and issued orders to the governor of the North Western Territory, to arrest Power and send him to Philadelphia.†]

The "occupying claimant" law of Kentucky—which was intended to relieve those who were ejected from lands, from the hardship of paying rent for the time they had held them, while their improvements were not paid for or regarded—was also passed in this year. It was afterwards decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, to be unconstitutional, but the justice of that decision was not acquiesced in by the best men of Kentucky, and the Appellate Court of that State never recognized it, upon the ground that it was not a decision of the majority of the Supreme Court.‡

Detroit, during 1797, contained, as we learn from Weld, three hundred houses.§

[The Congress of the United States, on the 7th of April, 1798, passed an act organizing the territory of the Mississippi,

\* American State Papers, Miscellaneous ii. 103.

† Butler's Kentucky, 251—Dillon's Indiana, i. 414.]

‡ Marshall, ii. 203-221;—Butler, 266 to 279.

§ Weld's Travels, ii. 183.



and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the North-western Territory, was appointed the Governor.\* Mr. Sargent, for some cause, was an unpopular man as Secretary and acting Governor in the absence of St. Clair. He was a pompous, overbearing man; and in 1801, he was accused of misdoings in Mississippi.†] During the spring of this year General Wilkinson had been ordered to the country still held by the Spaniards, who, however, abandoned the region in dispute without serious opposition. By the 10th of October, the line dividing the possessions of Spain and the Federal Government was in a great measure run, and the head-quarters of the American commander were fixed at Loftus Heights, six miles north of the 31st degree of North latitude.‡

The appointment of Sargent to the charge of the South-west Territory, led to the choice of William Henry Harrison, who had been aid-de-camp to General Wayne in 1794, and whose character stood very high in the estimation of all who knew him, to the Secretaryship of the North-west; which place he held until appointed to represent that territory in Congress.§

The North-western Territory, as may be seen by a reference to the ordinance of 1787, was to have a representative assembly as soon as its inhabitants numbered five thousand. Upon the 29th of October, Governor St. Clair gave notice by proclamation that the required population existed, and directed an election of representatives to be held on the third Monday in December.

[The representatives, when assembled, were required to nominate ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States, who selected five, and with the advice and consent of the Senate appointed them, for the Legislative Council.

In this mode the country passed into the second grade of a territorial government.]]

During the summer of 1798, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed by Congress. They were, by the Demo-

\* American State Papers, xx. 203.

† For particulars reference is had to Burnett's Letters, p. 79; the Freeman's Journal (Cincinnati) November 26th, 1796; and American State Papers, xx. 233 to 241.

‡ Wilkinson's Memoirs, i. 434 and ii. 133.

§ Burnet, in Ohio Historical Transactions, part 2, vol. ii. p. 69.

| Dillon i. 431. Burnet in Ohio Historical Transactions, part 2, vol. i. p. 70.





cratic party every where regarded with horror, and hated, and in Virginia and Kentucky especially, called forth in opposition the most able men, and produced the most violent measures. The Governor of Kentucky called the attention of the Legislature to them, and upon the 8th of November resolutions, prepared by Mr. Jefferson, were introduced into the House, declaring that the United States are "united by a compact under the style and title of a constitution for the United States; that to this compact, each State acceded, as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming to itself the other party; that the government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or *final* judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for himself, as well of infractions as the mode and manner of redress." And this doctrine was further developed by the mover of the resolutions, Mr. John Breckenridge: said he, "I consider the co-States to be alone parties to the federal compact, and solely authorized to judge in the last resort of the power exercised under the compact—Congress not being a party, but merely the creature of the compact, and subject as to its assumption of power, to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whose use, itself and its powers were all created." In another passage he says, "if upon the representation of the States from whom they derive their powers, they should nevertheless attempt to enforce them, I hesitate not to declare it as my opinion, that it is then the right and duty of the several States, to *nullify those acts, and protect their citizens* from their operation."\*

To this doctrine, since disclaimed by Kentucky, in a clear and formal declaration, in 1838, William Murray, of Franklin, alone offered a steady opposition, and took the ground since occupied by Mr. Webster with so great power; but he argued in vain, the Senate unanimously passed the resolutions, the House acted with almost equal unanimity, and the Governor gave them his approbation.†

\* Butler from 235 to 237.

† Butler, 235, &c. See the Virginia resolutions, the alien and sedition laws, the debate in Virginia, the resolutions of other States, and Madison's "Vindication," in a volume published at Richmond, by Robert I. Smith, in 1132. See also North American Review, vol. 31, (Oct. 1840.) This is a very full and able paper.—Marshall, ii. 254, &c., 317.



A change in the Penal Code of Kentucky took place during 1798, by which the punishment of death was confined to the crime of murder; and for all others the penitentiary system was substituted.\*

[The election of Representatives having taken place in December, they met on the 22nd of January, 1799, and performed their first duty by nominating ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States. Governor St. Clair then prorogued the session until the 16th of September. On the second of March, President Adams selected from the list of ten nominees, the names of Jacob Burnet, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburgh, Robert Oliver, and David Vance. The next day the Senate confirmed the nomination of these gentlemen for the Legislative Council, or Upper House, in the Territorial Legislature, for five years.

On the 16th of September, both branches of the legislature assembled at Cincinnati, but a quorum not appearing, the two houses were not organized until the 24th of September.

As this was the first House of Representatives elected by the people of the North-western Territory, it is deemed necessary to record their names and the counties they represented.

*Hamilton County.*—William Goforth, William McMillan, John Smith, John Ludlow, Robert Benham, Aaron Cadwell, Isaac Martin.

*Ross County.*—Thomas Worthington, Samuel Finlay, Elias Langham, Edward Tiffin.

*Wayne County* (now Michigan).—Solomon Sibley, Charles F. Chobert de Joncaire, Jacob Visger.

*Adams County.*—Joseph Darlington, Nathaniel Massie.

*Jefferson County.*—James Pritchard.

*Washington County.*—Return Jonathan Meigs.

*Knox County*, (including the Illinois country)—Shadrach Bond, from Illinois.

They elected Edward Tiffin, Speaker; John Reilly, Clerk; Joshua Rowland, Door-keeper; and Abraham Cary, Sergeant-at-arms.

Henry Vanderburgh was chosen President of the Council, and William C. Schenk, Secretary.

Both houses being fully organized, were addressed by Governor St. Clair, on the 25th day of September. From the

\* Butler, 281. Marshall, ii. 238.



letters of the Hon. Jacob Burnet, the only surviving member of this body, (in 1850,) we extract the following account of these early proceedings.]

The Governor met the two houses in the representatives' chamber, and in a very elegant address, recommended such measures as he thought were suited to the condition of the country, and would advance the safety and prosperity of the people. The legislative body continued in session till the 19th of December, when having finished their business, the governor prorogued them, at their request, till the first Monday in November. This being the first session, it was necessarily a very laborious one. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent government, called for a general revision, as well as a considerable enlargement of the statute-book. Some of the adopted laws were repealed, many others altered and amended, and a long list of new ones added to the code. New offices were to be created and filled—the duties attached to them prescribed, and a plan of ways and means devised, to meet the increased expenditures, occasioned by the change which had just taken place. As the number of members in each branch was small, and a large portion of them either unprepared or indisposed to partake largely of the labors of the session, the pressure fell on the shoulders of a few. Although the branch to which I belonged, was composed of sensible, strong-minded men, yet they were unaccustomed to the duties of their new station, and not conversant with the science of law. The consequence was, that they relied chiefly and almost entirely on me, to draft and prepare the bills and other documents, which originated in the council, as will appear by referring to the journal of the session. One of the important duties which devolved on the legislature was the election of a delegate to represent the territory in Congress. As soon as the governor's proclamation made its appearance, the election of a person to fill that station excited general attention. Before the meeting of the legislature, public opinion had settled down on William Henry Harrison, and Arthur St. Clair, jun., who were eventually the only candidates. On the 3d of October, the two houses met in the representatives' chamber, according to a joint resolution, and proceeded to the election. The ballots being taken and counted, it appeared that William Henry



Harrison had eleven votes, and Arthur St. Clair, jun., ten votes ;—the former was therefore declared to be duly elected. The legislature by joint resolution, prescribed the form of a certificate of his election : having received that certificate, he resigned the office of Secretary of the territory—proceeded forthwith to Philadelphia, and took his seat, Congress being then in session. Though he represented the territory but one year, he obtained some important advantages for his constituents. He introduced a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands, and to offer them for sale in small tracts—he succeeded in getting that measure through both houses, in opposition to the interests of speculators who were, and who wished to be, the retailers of land to the poorer classes of the community. His proposition became a law, and was hailed as the most beneficent act that Congress had ever done for the territory. It put it in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to become a freeholder, and to lay a foundation for the future support, and comfort of his family. At the same session, he obtained a liberal extension of time for the pre-emptioners in the northern part of the Miami purchase, which enabled them to secure their farms, and eventually to become independent, and even wealthy.\*

From a circular by Harrison to the people of the territory, dated May 14, 1800, we quote in relation to this matter the following passage :

“ Amongst the variety of objects which engaged my attention, as peculiarly interesting to our territory, none appeared to me of so much importance, as the adoption of a system for the sale of the public lands, which would give more favorable terms to that class of purchasers who are likely to become actual settlers, than was offered by the existing laws upon that subject ; conformably to this idea, I procured the passage of a resolution at an early period for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration. And shortly after I reported a bill containing terms for the purchaser, as favorable as could have been expected. This bill was adopted by the house of representatives without any material alteration ; but in the senate, amendments were introduced, obliging the purchaser to pay interest on that part of the money for which a credit was given from the date of the purchase, and directing that one half the land (instead of the whole, as was provided by the bill from the house of repre-

\* *Historical Transactions of Ohio*, L 71.





sentatives,) should be sold in half sections of three hundred and twenty acres, and the other half in whole sections of six hundred and forty acres. All my exertions, aided by some of the ablest members of the lower house, at a conference for that purpose, were not sufficient to induce the senate to recede from their amendments; but, upon the whole, there is cause of congratulation to my fellow-citizens that terms as favorable as the bill still contains, have been procured. This law promises to be the foundation of a great increase of population and wealth to our country; for although the minimum price of the land is still fixed at two dollars per acre, the time for making payments has been so extended as to put it in the power of every industrious man to comply with them, it being only necessary to pay one-fourth part of the money in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years; besides this, the odious circumstance of forfeiture, which was made the penalty of failing in the payments under the old law, is entirely abolished, and the purchaser is allowed one year after the last payment is due to collect the money; if the land is not then paid for, it is sold, and, after the public have been reimbursed, the balance of the money is returned to the purchaser. Four land-offices are directed to be opened—one at Cincinnati, one at Chillicothe, one at Marietta, and one at Steubenville, for the sale of the lands in the neighborhood of those places." (*Life of Harrison*, by Todd and Drake, p. 20.)

To the foregoing paragraphs by Judge Burnet, our first law-maker, may be properly added the following from Mr. Chase, the first collector of our Northwestern Statutes.

The whole number of acts passed and approved by the governor was thirty-seven. Of these the most important related to the militia, to the administration of justice, and to taxation. Provision was made for the efficient organization and discipline of the military force of the territory; justices of the peace were authorised to hear and determine all actions upon the case, except trover, and all actions of debt, except upon bonds for the performance of covenants, without limitation as to the amount in controversy; and a regular system of taxation was established. The tax for territorial purposes, was levied upon lands; that for county purposes, upon persons, personal property, and houses and lots.

During this session, a bill, authorising a lottery for a public purpose, passed by the council, was rejected by the representatives. Thus early was the policy adopted of interdict-



ing this demoralizing and ruinous mode of gambling and taxation; a policy which, with but a temporary deviation, has ever since honorably characterized the legislature of Ohio.

Before adjournment, the legislature issued an address to the people, in which they congratulated their constituents upon the change in the form of government; rendered an account of their public conduct as legislators; adverted to the future greatness and importance of this part of the American empire; and the provision made by the national government for secular and religious instruction in the west; and upon these considerations, urged upon the people the practice of industry, frugality, temperance and every moral virtue. "Religion, morality and knowledge," said they, "are necessary to all good governments. Let us, therefore, inculcate the principles of humanity, benevolence, honesty and punctuality in dealing, sincerity, and charity, and all the social affections."

About the same time an address was voted to the President of the United States, expressing the entire confidence of the legislature in the wisdom and purity of his administration, and their warm attachment to the American constitution and government. The vote upon this address proved that the differences of political sentiment, which then agitated all the states, had extended to the territory. The address was carried by eleven ayes against five noes.

On the nineteenth of December, this protracted session of the first legislature was terminated by the governor. In his speech on this occasion he enumerated eleven acts, to which, in the course of the session, he had thought fit to apply his absolute veto. These acts he had not returned to the legislature, because the two houses were under no obligation to consider the reasons on which his veto was founded; and, at any rate, as his negative was unqualified, the only effect of such a return would be to bring on a vexatious, and probably fruitless, altercation between the legislative body and the executive. Of the eleven acts thus negatived, six related to the erection of new counties. These were disapproved for various reasons, but mainly because the governor claimed that the power exercised in enacting them, was vested by the ordinance, not in the legislature, but in himself. This free exercise of the veto power excited much dissatisfaction among the people,



and the controversy which ensued between the governor and the legislature, as to the extent of their respective powers, tended to confirm and strengthen the popular disaffection.\*

During this year Kentucky proceeded to amend her Constitution, now seven years old. It is not our purpose to enter into the details of the several State charters, and we shall only mention the fact that the earliest born of our western commonwealths, when change was made in her fundamental law, gave it a more democratic and popular character. This was done by making the choice of the senate and governor direct, instead of being as formerly through a college of electors; and by limiting the veto power.†

In 1799, Kentucky began, or rather threatened to begin, a system of internal improvements, by a survey of the river upon which her capital stands; the work recommended by the engineer, however, and which might have been done very cheaply, was not undertaken.‡

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### OHIO AND INDIANA.

Territory of Indiana organized—Difficulties with Governor St. Clair—Organization of the State of Ohio—Difficulties with Spain renewed—Purchase of Louisiana from France—Reasons for its sale by Napoleon explained—History of Symmes' College Township—Detroit burnt and re-built—Movements and Intrigues of Aaron Burr—His Trial and Purposes—Extensive purchases from the Indians.

The great extent of the territory northwest of the Ohio made the ordinary operations of Government extremely uncertain, and the efficient action of Courts almost impossible. The Committee of Congress, who, upon the 3d of March, 1800, reported upon the subject, said:—

\* Chase's Sketch p. 20.

† Marshall, ii. 233, 246, 252, 292, 293, etc.—Butler 290.

‡ Marshall, ii. 317.—Butler, 293.



In the three western countries there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years; and the immunity which offenders experience, attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society. The extreme necessity of judiciary attention and assistance, is experienced in civil as well as criminal cases. The supplying to vacant places such necessary officers as may be wanted, such as clerks, recorders, and others of like kind, is, from the impossibility of correct notice and information, utterly neglected. This Territory is exposed, as a frontier, to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States, and also have a part thereof on which they border, which feels so little the cherishing hand of their proper Government, or so little dread of its energy, as to render their attachment perfectly uncertain and ambiguous. The committee would further suggest, that the law of the 3d of March, 1791, granting land to certain persons in the western part of said territory, and directing the laying out of the same, remains unexecuted; that great discontent, in consequence of such neglect, is excited in those who were interested in the provisions of said law, and which require the immediate attention of this legislature. To minister a remedy to these evils, it occurs to this committee that it is expedient that a division of said territory into two distinct and separate governments should be made; and that such division be made, by a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, running directly north, until it intersects the boundary between the United States and Canada.\*

In accordance with the spirit of this resolution an act was passed, and approved upon the 7th of May, from which we extract these provisions:

That from and after the 4th day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio river, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to fort Recovery, and thence north, until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana territory.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said territory a government, in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the government of the territory of the





United States northwest of the river Ohio; and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to, and enjoy, all and singular, the rights, privileges and advantages, granted and secured to the people by the said ordinance.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, as relates to the organization of a General Assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Indiana Territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the Governor thereof, that such is the wish of a majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there may not be therein five thousand free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards: Provided, that until there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of twenty-one years and upwards, in said territory, the whole number of Representatives to the General Assembly shall not be less than seven, nor more than nine, to be apportioned by the Governor to the several counties in said territory, agreeably to the number of free males of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, which they may respectively contain.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Indiana Territory, from and after the aforesaid fourth day of July next: Provided, That, whenever that part of the territory of the United States which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, and running thence, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall be erected into an independent State, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, thenceforth said line shall become and remain permanently the boundary line between such State and the Indiana Territory, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That until it shall be otherwise ordered by the Legislatures of the said Territories, respectively, Chillicothe, on the Scioto river, shall be the seat of the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river; and that St. Vincennes, on the Wabash river, shall be the seat of the government for the Indiana Territory.”\*

[William Henry Harrison, through whose agency as the delegate in Congress, the formation of this Territory was obtained, was appointed Governor.]

We have already mentioned, that Connecticut in her Re-



serve had retained the jurisdiction thereof, as well as the soil. When she disposed of the soil, however, troubles at once arose, for the settlers found themselves without a government upon which to lean. Upon their representation, the mother state, in October 1797, authorized her Senators to release her jurisdiction over the Reserve, to the Union; upon the 21st of March, 1800, a Committee of Congress reported in favor of accepting this cession, and upon the 30th of May, the release was made by the Governor of the State, in accordance with a law passed during that month; the United States issuing letters patent to Connecticut for the soil, and Connecticut transferring all her claims of jurisdiction to the Federal Government.\* At that time, settlements had been commenced in thirty-five of the townships, and one thousand persons had become settlers; mills had been built, and seven hundred miles of road cut in various directions.†

[The "Connecticut Reserve" continued to receive numerous emigrants from the New England States, who formed settlements chiefly near Lake Erie. The population in this part of the territory had increased so fast, that in December, 1800, the county of Trumbull was organized. About this period a large number of settlers on the "Pennsylvania Grants," north-west of the Alleghany river, who had made an unfortunate bargain with certain rich land owners, abandoned their improvements, to avoid litigation, and retired to the southern part of the Western Reserve. They were an acquisition to this part of Ohio, and by industry and frugality, in a few years more than retrieved the loss of their improvements.‡]

Congress having made Chillicothe the Capital of the north-western Territory, on the 3d of November, 1800, the General Assembly met at that place. At this meeting Governor St. Clair in strong terms expressed his sense of the want of popularity under which he labored; he said:—

"My term of office, and yours, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, will soon expire.—It is, indeed, very uncertain, whether I shall ever meet another Assembly, in the character I now hold, for I well know, that the vilest calumnies and the greatest falsehoods, are insidiously circulated among the

\* American State Papers, xvi. 94 to 98—Chase's Statutes, i. 64 to 66.

† American State Papers, xvi. 97.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. pp. 368, 371.



people, with a view to prevent it. While I regret the baseness and malevolence of the authors, and well know that the laws have put the means of correction fully in my power, they have nothing to dread from me but the contempt they justly merit. The remorse of their own consciences will one day be punishment sufficient:—Their arts may, however, succeed:—Be that as it may, of this I am certain, that, be my successor whom he may, he can never have the interests of the people of this Territory more truly at heart than I have had, nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done; and I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness.\*

Notwithstanding the general dislike felt towards him, however, St. Clair was reappointed in 1801, to the place he had so long occupied.

Toward the close of this year the first Missionary to the Connecticut Reserve, came thither under the patronage of the Connecticut Missionary Society. He found no township containing more than eleven families.†

Upon the 1st of October, in this year, the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso was made between Napoleon as First Consul, and the King of Spain, whereby the latter agreed to cede to France the province of Louisiana.‡

By this year's census, Kentucky contained 179,875 whites; and 40,343 slaves; an increase in ten years of 118,742 whites, and 28,913 slaves.§

The Governor and several of the legislators of the north-western Territory having been insulted during the autumn of 1801 at Chillicothe, while the Assembly was in session—and no measures being taken by the authorities of the Capitol to protect the Executive—a law was passed removing the seat of government to Cincinnati again.‡ But it was not destined that the Territorial Assembly should meet again any-

\* Burnet's Letters, p. 73.

† American Pioneer, ii. 275.

‡ American State Papers, ii. 507.

§ Marshall, ii. 332.

‡ Burnet's letters, 75. We state the facts given by Judge Burnet, but cannot reconcile it with the Journals. On the 16th of December the removal of the seat of government was broached in the House. (Journal of House, 62;) on the 19th it was fully debated, (Journal, 71 to 73;) on the 21st was passed by the House, (Journal of House, 77;) on the same day it was passed by the Council, (Journal of Council, 32, 33;) on the 24th it was signed by the Speaker and President, (Journal of Council, 35,) and given the Governor for his appro-



where. The unpopularity of St. Clair, already referred to, was causing many to long for a State government and self-rule. This unpopularity arose in part from the feelings connected with his defeat; in part from his being identified with the Federal party then fast falling into disrepute; and in part from his assuming powers which most thought he had no right to exercise, especially the power of sub-dividing the counties of the Territory.

But the opposition, though very powerful out of the Assembly, was in the minority, even in the House of Representatives, and during December, 1801, was forced to protest against a measure brought forward in the Council for changing the Ordinance of 1787 in such a manner as to make the Scioto and a line drawn from the intersection of that river and the Indian boundary to the western extremity of the Connecticut Reserve, the limit of the most eastern State to be formed from the territory. This change, if made, would long have postponed the formation of a State Government beyond the Ohio, and against it Tiffin, Worthington, Langham, Darlington, Massie, Dunlavy, and Morrow, recorded solemnly their objections. Not content with this it was determined that some one should at once visit Washington on behalf of the objectors, and upon the 20th of December, Thomas Worthington obtained leave of absence for the remainder of the session. His acts and those of his co-laborers belong to the next year.\*

[From 1799 to 1803 the territorial legislature met annually, but made not many laws, owing to the extraordinary powers conferred on the Governor, by the ordinance of 1787, and the very arbitrary manner by which he vetoed many of the bills that passed. During the period of the territorial legislature, most of the business usually done by territorial legislatures since, was done by the governor of the territory. He erected new counties, fixed county seats, and issued divers proclamations enacting laws by his own authority, and put his veto upon all legislative enactments, which he fancied encroached

bation, (*Journal of House*, 89.) On the night of the 25th and 26th the only riots mentioned in the Journals took place. (*Journal of Council*, 39; *Journal of House*, 98.) On the 21st of December Mr. Burnet asked leave of absence for ten days which was granted; (*Journal of Council*, 33.) The Governor's approbation to the bill was given January 1st; (*Journal of House*, 108.) Possibly his consent was determined by the riots.

\**Journal of House*, 81 to 83 and 93. See also *Journal of Council*, 16 and 17. *Journal of House*, 68.





on his prerogatives. Hence his administration became singularly unpopular.\*]

By the treaty with Spain, New Orleans, or "an equivalent establishment," was to be allowed the citizens of the United States as a place of deposit for property sent down the Mississippi. Until the 16th of October, 1802, no change in relation to this place of deposit took place, but on that day Morales, the intendant of Louisiana, issued an order putting an end to the cherished and all-important privilege granted to the Americans. This led to instant excitement and remonstrance, and, upon the 7th of January following, to a resolution by the House of Representatives, affirming, "their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries, and the rights of navigation and commerce through the River Mississippi as established by existing treaties."† The act of the Intendant had not, it appeared, been authorized by the Spanish Government, and was not acquiesced in by the Governor of Louisiana: but the suspension continued notwithstanding, until the 25th of February, 1803, when the port was opened to provisions, upon paying a duty; and, in April, orders from the King of Spain reached the United States, restoring the right of deposit.‡

In January, 1802, a bill was passed by the Assembly of the North-Western Territory, and approved by the Governor, establishing a university in the town of Athens.

We have already noticed the dissatisfaction with Governor St. Clair, which prevailed in the North-Western Territory, and the wish of a party therein to obtain a State Government, although not yet entitled to ask it under the ordinance. Mr. Worthington left late in 1801, to urge upon Congress the evils of the proposition to change the bounds of the north-western States, and if advisable, to procure permission to call a convention for the formation of a State, having the boundaries mentioned in the ordinance, namely, the west line of Pennsylvania, the north and south lines of the territory, and a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami.

† Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 167.

\*American State Papers, ii. 556. 561.

‡ See Documents, American State Papers, ii. 469 to 471, 527, 528, 531, 536, 544, 548.



While Worthington was journeying, upon the 4th of January, Massie presented a resolution for choosing a committee to address Congress in respect to the proposed State Government. This, upon the following day, the House refused to pass, however, by a vote of twelve to five. An attempt was next made to procure a census of the Territory, and an act for that purpose, passed the House, but the council postponed the consideration of it until the next session, which was to commence at Cincinnati on the fourth Monday of the following November.\*

Worthington, meantime, at Philadelphia, pursued the ends of his mission, and used his influence to effect that organization, "which, terminating the influence of tyranny," was to "meliorate the circumstances of thousands by freeing them from the domination of a despotic chief."† His efforts proved successful, and upon the 4th of March a report was made to the House in favor of authorizing a State Convention. This report went upon the basis that the Territory, by the United States' census made in 1800, contained more than forty-five thousand inhabitants, and as the Government since that time had sold half a million of acres, that the territory east of the Miami, supposing the past rate of increase to continue, would, by the time a State government could be formed, contain the sixty thousand persons contemplated by the ordinance; and upon this basis proposed that a convention should be held, to determine, 1st, whether it were expedient to form a State Government, and 2d, to prepare a Constitution, if such an organization were deemed best.‡ In the formation of this State, however, a change of boundaries was proposed, by which, in accordance with the fifth article of the ordinance of 1787, all of the territory north of a line drawn due east from the head of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, was to be excluded from the new government about to be called into existence. The report closed as follows:

The committee observe, in the ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory, of the

\*See Journal of the Council, 53 and 78; and Journal of the House, 111, 115, 155.

†See his letter to Mr. Giles, chairman of the committee of Congress, February 13th, 1802, (American State Papers, xx. 323.) See letter by him to James Finley, chairman, February 12th, 1802. (American State Papers, xx. 329.)

‡American State Papers, xx. 326.)



20th of May, 1785, the following section, which, so far as respects the subject of schools, remains unaltered :

There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots, being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29 ; and out of every fractional part of a township so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon for future sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township ; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines, to be sold, or otherwise disposed of as Congress shall hereafter direct.

The committee also observe, in the third and fourth articles of the ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, the following stipulations, to wit :

Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged, &c.

Art. 4. The Legislatures of those districts or new States shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States ; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.

The committee, taking into consideration these stipulations, viewing the lands of the United States within the said territory as an important source of revenue ; deeming it also of the highest importance to the stability and permanence of the union of the eastern and western parts of the United States, that the intercourse should, as far as possible, be facilitated, and their interests be liberally and mutually consulted and promoted, are of opinion that the provisions of the aforesaid articles may be varied for the reciprocal advantage of the United States and the State of ——— when formed, and the people thereof ; they have therefore deemed it proper, in lieu of the said provisions, to offer the following propositions to the convention of the eastern State of the said territory, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, without any condition or restraint whatever, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States :

1st. That the section No. 16, in every township, sold or directed to be sold by the United States, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools.

2d. That the six miles reservation, including the salt springs, commonly called the Scioto salt springs, shall be granted to the State of ——— when formed, for the use of the people thereof ; the same to be used under such terms,



conditions, and regulations, as the Legislature of the said State shall direct: Provided, the said Legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer term than ——— years.

3d. That one-tenth part of the nett proceeds of the lands lying in the said State, hereafter sold by Congress, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making turnpike or other roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic to the Ohio, and continued afterwards through the State of ———; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the roads shall pass: Provided, that the convention of the State of ——— shall, on its part, assent that every and each tract of land sold by Congress shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order and under authority of the State, whether for State, county, township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of ten years, from and after the completion of the payment of the purchase money on such tract, to the United States.\*

In accordance with the recommendation of their committee, Congress, upon the 30th of April, passed a law, carrying, with slight modifications, the view above given, into effect.† The provisions of this law were thought by many in the Territory unauthorized, but no opposition was offered to the appointment of persons to attend the Convention, and the Legislature even gave way to the embryo Government, and failed to assemble according to adjournment. The Convention met upon the 1st of November; its members were generally Jeffersonian in their national politics and had been opposed to the change of boundaries proposed the previous year. Before proceeding to business, Governor St. Clair proposed to address them, in his official character, as the chief executive magistrate of the territory. This proposition was resisted by several of the members; but after discussion, a motion was made, and adopted, by a majority of five, that, “Arthur St. Clair, sen., Esquire, be permitted to address the convention, on those points which he deems of importance.”

He advised the postponement of a State organization until the people of the original eastern division were plainly entitled to demand it, and were not subject to be bound by conditions.‡ This advice, given as it was, caused Jefferson in-

\*American State Papers, xx. 326.

†See this act in Chase, i. 70.

‡Burnet's Letters, 103, 111.





stantly to remove St. Clair, but when the vote was taken upon doing that which he advised them not to do, but one of thirty-three, Ephraim Cutler of Washington, voted with the Governor.\*

On one point, the proposed boundaries of the new State were altered.

To every person who has attended to this subject, and who has consulted the maps of the western country, extant at the time the ordinance of 1787 was passed, Lake Michigan was believed to be, and was represented by all the maps of that day, as being very far north of the position which it has since been ascertained to occupy. I have seen the map in the department of state, which was before the committee of Congress, who framed and reported the ordinance for the government of the territory. On that map, the southern boundary of Michigan, was represented as being above the forty-second degree of north latitude. And there was a pencil line, said to have been made by the committee, passing through the southern bend of the lake, to the Canada line, which struck the strait, not far below the town of Detroit. That line was manifestly intended by the committee and by Congress, to be the northern boundary of our State; and on the principles by which courts of chancery construe contracts, accompanied by plats, it would seem that the map, and the line referred to, should be conclusive evidence of our boundary, without reference to the real position of the lake. When the convention sat, in 1802, the prevailing understanding was, that the old maps were nearly correct, and that the line, as defined in the ordinance, would terminate at some point, on the strait, above the Maumee bay. While the convention was in session, a man who had hunted, many years, on lake Michigan, and was well acquainted with its position, happened to be in Chillicothe; and in conversation with one of its members, told him, that the lake extended much further south than was generally supposed, and that a map of the country, which he had seen, placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. This information excited some uneasiness, and induced the convention to modify the clause, describing the north boundary, so as to guard its being depressed below the most northern cape of the Maumee bay.†

With this change, and some extension of the school and road donations, the convention agreed to the proposal of Congress, and upon the 29th of November, their agreement was ratified and signed, as was also the Constitution of the State of Ohio.‡ Of this Constitution we shall say nothing farther

\*Burnet's Letters, 110.

†Historical transactions of Ohio, p. 115.

‡Chase's Statutes, i. 74 is the Resolution of November 29th.



than that it bore in every provision the marks of democratic feeling ; of full faith in the people. By the people themselves, however, it was never examined ; but no opposition was offered to it, and a General Assembly was required to meet at Chillicothe on the first Tuesday of March, 1803.

After the agreement by Congress to the Constitution of Ohio, and her admission into the Union, the Peninsula of Michigan was wholly within the territory of Indiana.

On the 17th of September, 1802, Governor Harrison of Indiana Territory, at Vincennes, entered into an agreement with various chiefs of the Pottawatomie, Eel river, Piankeshaw, Wea, Kaskaskia and Kickapoo tribes, by which were settled the bounds of a tract of land near that place, said to have been given by the Indians to its founder ; and certain chiefs were named who were to conclude the matter at Fort Wayne. This was the first step taken by Harrison in those negotiations which continued through so many years, and added so much to the dominions of the Confederation. He found the natives jealous and out of temper, owing partly to American injustice, but also in a great degree, it was thought, to the arts of the British traders and agents.\*

In January of this year, Governor Harrison also communicated to the President the following letter, detailing some of the most curious land speculations of which we have any account :

The court established at this place, under the authority of the State of Virginia, in the year 1780, (as I have before done myself the honor to inform you,) assumed to themselves the right of granting lands to every applicant. Having exercised this power for some time without opposition, they began to conclude that their right over the land was supreme, and that they could with as much propriety grant to themselves as to others. Accordingly, an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court ; and orders to that effect entered on their Journal, each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only. The tract thus disposed of, extends on the Wabash twenty-four leagues from La Pointe Coupee to the mouth of White River, and forty leagues into the country west, and thirty east from the Wabash, excluding

\*Dawson's Harrison, 7 to 58.



only the land immediately surrounding this town, which had before been granted to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand acres.

The authors of this ridiculous transaction soon found that no advantage could be derived from it, as they could find no purchasers, and I believe that the idea of holding any part of the land was, by the greater part of them, abandoned a few years ago; however, the claim was discovered, and a part of it purchased by some of those speculators who infest our country, and through these people, a number of others in different parts of the United States have become concerned, some of whom are actually preparing to make settlements on the land the ensuing spring. Indeed, I should not be surprised to see five hundred families settling under these titles in the course of a year. The price at which the land is sold enables any body to become a purchaser; one thousand acres being frequently given for an indifferent horse or a rifle gun. And as a formal deed is made reciting the grant of the court, (made, as it is pretended, under the authority of the State of Virginia.) many ignorant persons have been induced to part with their little all to obtain this ideal property, and they will no doubt endeavor to strengthen their claim, as soon as they have discovered the deception, by an actual settlement. The extent of these speculations was unknown to me until lately. I am now informed that a number of persons are in the habit of repairing to this place, where they purchase two or three hundred thousand acres of this claim, for which they get a deed properly authenticated and recorded, and then disperse themselves over the United States, to cheat the ignorant and credulous. In some measure, to check this practice, I have forbidden the recorder and prothonotary of this county from recording or authenticating any of these papers; being determined that the official seals of the Territory should not be prostituted to a purpose so base as that of assisting an infamous fraud.\*

WM. H. HARRISON.

To JAS. MADISON, *Sec'y. of State.*

During the session of 1802, the Legislature of Kentucky chartered an "Insurance Company," whose notes payable to bearer were to be transferred or assigned by delivery; this feature made the institution a Bank of circulation, and such it became.†

Upon the 11th of January, Mr. Jefferson sent a message to the Senate nominating Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe ministers at the Court of France, and Charles Pinckney and James Monroe at that of Spain, with full power to form

\* American State Papers, xvi. 123.

† Marshall, ii. 348.



treaties for "enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi, and in the territories eastward thereof."\* This was done in consequence of the order by Morales taking from the Americans the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit; and the knowledge of the Government of the United States, that in some form a treaty had been made by which Spain had transferred her interest in Louisiana to France.

The secret† treaty of St. Ildefonso had been formed on the 1st of October, 1800; on the 29th of the next March, Rufus King, then Minister in London, wrote home in relation to a reported cession of Louisiana, and its influence on the United States:‡ on the 9th of June, 1801, Mr. Pinckney, at Madrid, was instructed in relation to the alleged transfer, and upon the 28th of September, Mr. Livingston, at Paris, was written to upon the same topic. On the 20th of November, Mr. King sent from London a copy of the treaty signed at Madrid, March 21, 1801, by which the Prince of Parma, (son-in-law of the King of Spain,) was established in Tuscany; this had been the consideration for the grant of Louisiana to France in the previous autumn, and that grant was now confirmed. From that time till July 1802, a constant correspondence went on between the American Secretary of State and the Ministers at Paris, London, and Madrid, relative to the important question, What can be done to secure the interests of the Union in relation to the Mississippi? Mr. Livingston, in France, was of opinion that a cession of New Orleans might possibly be obtained from that power; and to obtain it he advised the payment of "a large price" if required. Mr. Livingston at the same time wrote and laid before the French leaders an elaborate memoir, intended to show that true policy required France not to retain Louisiana, but when, on the last of August, he again made propositions, Talleyrand told him that the First Consul was not ready to receive them. Still the sagacious Ambassador felt "persuaded that the whole would end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the Capital to the United States;" and pursued his labors in

\* American State Papers, ii. 475.

† In regard to the secrecy practised, see Mr. Livingston's letters, American State Papers, ii. 512, 513.

‡ American State Papers, ii. 509.





hope ;—asking from his Government only explicit instructions as to how much he might offer France for the Floridas, which it was supposed she would soon get from Spain, and also for New Orleans. His views were acquiesced in by the President, and Mr. Monroe went out in March, 1803, bearing instructions, the object of which was “to procure a cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States.” All idea of purchasing Louisiana west of the Mississippi, was thus far disclaimed by Mr. Livingston, in October, 1802, and by Mr. Jefferson in January, 1803. Upon the 10th of the latter month, however, Mr. Livingston proposed to the Minister of Napoleon to cede to the United States not only New Orleans and Florida, but also all of Louisiana above the River Arkansas. But such were not the views entertained in the Cabinet of the United States, and upon the 2d of March the instructions sent to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe, gave a plan which expressly left to France “all her territory on the west side of the Mississippi.\*” In conformity with these orders, when Talleyrand, on the 11th of the next month, asked Livingston if he wished all of Louisiana, he answered that his Government desired only New Orleans and Florida, though in his opinion, good policy would lead France to cede all west of the Mississippi above the Arkansas, so as to place a barrier between her own Colony and Canada. Talleyrand still suggested the cession of the whole French domain in North America, and asked how much would be given for it; Mr. Livingston intimated that twenty millions (of francs,) might be a fair price; this the Minister of Bonaparte said was too low, but asked the American to think of the matter. He did think of it, and this thought was that the purchase of Louisiana entire was too large an object for the United States, and that, if acquired, it ought to be exchanged with Spain for the Floridas, reserving only New Orleans. On the 12th of April Mr. Monroe reached Paris, and upon the 13th the Minister of the Treasury, Marbois, who was a personal friend of Livingston, had with him a long conversation, from which it appeared that Napoleon, then about to renew his wars with England, wished to sell Louisiana entire, and that the only question was as to price. Bonaparte had named what equalled 125 millions of francs, but to this the Republicans

\* For the documents on this subject, see American State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 525 to 544.



turned a deaf ear, offering only 40 or 50 millions. In a short time, however, a compromise took place, and the American negotiators, going entirely beyond the letter of their instructions, agreed to pay 80 millions of francs for the vast territory upon and beyond the river first navigated by Marquette:—the treaty was arranged upon the 30th of the month in which the purchase had first been suggested. This act of the Ministers, though unauthorized and unexpected, was at once agreed to by the President. Congress was summoned to meet upon the 17th of October, and on that day the treaty was laid before the Senate: by the 21st the transfer was ratified, and upon the 20th of the following December, the Province of Louisiana was officially delivered over to Governor Claiborne of Mississippi, and General Wilkinson, who were empowered to assume the Government.

To this transfer of Louisiana, Spain at first objected, as she alleged “on solid grounds,” but early in 1804 renounced her opposition.\*

From what has been said it will be seen, that Mr. Jefferson had no agency in the purchase of Louisiana beyond the approval of the unlooked-for act of his Ministers in France. If any person deserves to be remembered in connection with that great bargain, it was Mr. Livingston, whose efforts were constant and effectual. An account of them may be found in his letters, read in the following order: 1st, that of May 12, 1802, (American State papers, ii. 557;) 2d, that of December 30, 1801, (do. 512;) and after that in the order of dates and arrangement. The person through whom Mr. Livingston obtained the ear of Napoleon was Joseph Bonaparte.

[It is here proper, in as few words as possible, to explain the circumstances which surrounded Napoleon as First Consul, and the motives by which he was influenced in the sale of Louisiana. These may be found in detail, with many other original facts, in the “History of Louisiana,” by M. de Barbe Marbois, a translation of which, was published in Philadelphia in 1830. M. Marbois had been for some time a member of the cabinet, and minister of the Public Treasury, and he

\* For the various documents see American State Papers, ii. 552, 553, 557 to 560, 566, 572, 581 to 583. For the treaty see pp. 507 to 508, Laws of Missouri, 1842, i. 1 to 4.—Marbois Louisiana, Appendix, 403 to 412. For the objections of Spain, see American State Papers, ii. 567 to 572, and 583.



held this post during the negotiations for the cession of Louisiana, was confidential Secretary of Napoleon, and to him was confided the whole transactions, as the plenipotentiary on the part of the French republic. His pen drew up the treaty.

The crisis was an alarming one to France. The Court of St. James had learned the purport of the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, by which Louisiana had been re-ceded to France. The latter government had its fleet fitted out ostensibly, for America. The King of England became alarmed, and in quick succession sent messages to Parliament, and prompt action was taken to fit out the navy. Napoleon dreaded the maritime power of England. To Marbois he said :—

“The principles of a maritime supremacy are subversive of one of the noblest rights that nature, science, and genius have secured to man ; I mean the right of traversing every sea with as much liberty as the bird flies through the air ; of making use of the waves, winds, climates, and productions of the globe ; of bringing near to one another, by a bold navigation, nations that have been separated, since the creation ; of carrying civilization into regions that are a prey to ignorance and barbarism.”\*

The discussions in the French Cabinet continued at intervals for several days. Mr. Livingston was the American minister to the French Republic, and for two years had been negotiating for indemnity for maritime spoliations. Mr. Monroe was on his way thither, with instructions to secure the navigation of the Mississippi, and even to purchase New Orleans and some small part of the vast territory of Louisiana. Napoleon wanted money, and he foresaw the probability that this province would fall into the hands of England, and that a sale of the whole country to the United States, would add to its national greatness and make this government a formidable rival of Great Britain. After the close of the conference with his counsellors, Napoleon said to Marbois :—

“Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season ; I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede ; it is the whole country without any reservation.”

\* \* \* \* \*



"If I should regulate my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions, [of francs] and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. To-morrow you shall have full powers." \* \* \* \* \*

"Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only last until one of the contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger, to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy."

The Minister (Barbois, who gives this conversation) made no reply. The First Consul continued:—

"Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister going two thousand leagues from his constituents, the President must have given, after defining the object of his mission, secret instructions, more extensive than the ostensible authorization of Congress, for the stipulation of the payments to be made.

"Neither this minister nor his colleague is prepared for a decision which goes infinitely beyond anything that they are to ask of us. Begin by making them the overture, without any subterfuge. You will acquaint me, day by day, hour by hour, of your progress. The Cabinet of London is informed of the measures adopted at Washington, but can have no suspicion of those which I am now taking. Observe the greatest secrecy, and recommend it to the American ministers; they have not a less interest than yourself in conforming to this council."\*

The conferences began the same day between Mr. Livingston and M. Barbe Marbois, to whom the First Consul confided the negotiation. The American minister had not the necessary powers, and he had become distrustful of the French cabinet. Such an offer as the sale of the whole of Louisiana, came so unexpected, and being ignorant of course, as he was, of the motives and views of Napoleon, he suspected artifice. Mr. Monroe arrived on the 12th of April, with more extensive powers, but heard with surprise and distrust the offer of the French ambassador. The historian says:

\* Marbois' History of Louisiana, pp. 260, 280.





"As soon as the negotiation was entered on, the American ministers declared they were ready to treat on the footing of the cession of the entire colony, and they did not hesitate to take on themselves the responsibility of augmenting the sum that they had been authorized to offer. The draft of the principal treaty was communicated to them. They prepared another one, but consented to adopt provisionally, as the basis of their conferences, that of the French negotiator, and they easily agreed to the declaration contained in the first article."

The negotiations being finished, the treaty for the sale and purchase of Louisiana, was completed on the 30th of April, and signed on the 3d of May. The intelligence of this negotiation was not less astounding to the people of the United States, than the proposition to sell the whole country by Marbois, was to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe. The Federal party rallied to defeat it; Mr. Jefferson and the plenipotentiaries were assailed in their public journals, and, as is common, under high party excitement, extravagant tales were told on both sides. Yet, as the prominent actors have passed away, and the transaction is now viewed in the perspective of history, the purchase and possession has long been regarded as one of the most valuable and splendid achievements ever acquired by this nation.

The following words from Napoleon, after the conclusion of the treaty, give us insight to his reflections :

To Marbois, he said :

"This accession of territory, strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."\*

The English ministry, when they were informed of the mission of Mr. Monroe to France, and its object, made a proposition to Rufus King, the American envoy at London, to undertake the conquest of Louisiana, with the concurrence of the United States, and retrocede it to our government, as soon as peace should be made with France. But it appears, the British ministry had no knowledge of the nature and extent of the negotiations at Paris, until they were concluded. The result was communicated without delay, and Mr. King received a satisfactory answer from Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the cession.

The treaty was forwarded to Washington, with as much despatch as possible, where it arrived on the 14th of July.

\* Marbois, 312.



And now, another difficulty arose with Spain. The Spanish minister, having received orders from his government, made a solemn protest against the ratification of the treaty, alledging that France had contracted with Spain not to retrocede the province to any other power.

The Federalists, who opposed the treaty, imputed to France a disgraceful deception; that there was a secret concert, and that Spain was acting under the influence of that government. Amidst a series of complicated embarrassments, Mr. Jefferson convened Congress, which met on the 17th of October, and laid the treaties (for there were three separate documents) before the Senate. Both the nature of the contract, and the magnitude of the sum, opened a wide field of debate.

The opposers of the treaty, contended that Congress had no power to annex by treaty new territories to the confederacy; as that right could only belong to the whole people of the United States. But after a free debate, the Senate ratified the treaties on the 20th day of October, by a majority of twenty-four votes against seven, to which the President gave his sanction the next day. All the documents were communicated to the House of Representatives, and after a short debate the necessary law to create the stock, and carry out the treaty, was passed without any formidable opposition.

The next step was to make the regular transfer from Spain to France and from France to the United States, for the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso had not been carried into effect in Louisiana.

M. Laussat had been appointed the Plenipotentiary of the French republic, and on the 30th of November he met the Spanish Commissioners in the Council Chamber at New Orleans, received in due form the keys of the city, and issued a proclamation to the Louisianians, informing them of the retrocession of the country to France, and by that government to the United States. At a signal, given by the firing of cannon, the Spanish flag was lowered and the French hoisted.

The French sovereignty lasted only twenty days, during which M. Laussat, as Governor General, provided for the administration of justice only in summary and urgent matters.

General Wilkinson, having command of the United States troops, established his camp on the 19th of December, a short distance above New Orleans; at the same time the Spanish



troops embarked and sailed for Havana. The next day, discharges of artillery from the forts and vessels announced the farewell of the French officers. On the 20th, M. Laussat, with a numerous retinue went to the City Hall, while by previous arrangement, the American troops entered the capital. General Wilkinson and Governor Claiborne, American Commissioners, were received in due form in the Hall.

The treaty of cession, the respective powers of the Commissioners, and the certificate of exchange of ratifications, were read. M. Laussat then pronounced these words:—

“In conformity with the treaty, I put the United States in possession of Louisiana and its dependencies. The citizens and inhabitants who wish to remain here and obey the laws, are from this moment exonerated from the oath of fidelity to the French republic.”

Mr. Claiborne, the Governor of the territory of Mississippi, exercising the power of Governor General and Intendent of the Province of Louisiana, delivered a congratulatory discourse to the Louisianians.

“This cession,” said he, “secures to you and your descendants the inheritance of liberty, perpetual laws, and magistrates, whom you will elect yourselves.”

The ceremonies closed with the exchange of flags, which was done by lowering the one and raising the other. When they met midway, they were kept stationary for a moment, while the artillery and trumpets celebrated the Union. The American flag then rose to its full height, and while it waived in the air the Americans expressed their joy in a tremendous shout.\*

The American Government went into operation quietly, and the French and Spanish population soon became accustomed to the new order of things, and after a lapse of forty-six years no distinction appears, except in family names.

Thus, in a persevering effort to gain the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the port of New Orleans, by an unexpected and fortuitous train of circumstances, the United States gained the immense territories of Louisiana and extended her boundaries to the Pacific Ocean.

We now return, to bring up a series of events pertaining to 1803, in the State of Ohio, and territory of Indiana.



During the month of June, certain Indian chiefs, agreeable to their promise made at Vincennes the preceding year, met at Fort Wayne, and transferred to Governor Harrison the lands claimed by the United States about Post Vincennes, and their act was confirmed at Vincennes, on the 7th of August, by various chiefs and warriors. On the 13th of August, the Illinois tribes, including the Kaskaskias, Michiganyies, Cahokias and Tamarois, made a conveyance to the United States, their right to a large portion of the Illinois country south of the Illinois river.\*

Upon the 15th of April, the House of Representatives of the new State of Ohio, signed a bill respecting a College Township in the District of Cincinnati. The history of this township is somewhat curious, and we give it in the words of Judge Burnet.

"The ordinance adopted by Congress, for the disposal of the public domain, did not authorize a grant of college land, to the purchasers, of less than two millions of acres. The original proposition of Mr. Symmes being for that quantity, entitled him to the benefit of such a grant. It was his intention, no doubt, to close his contract, in conformity with his proposal. He therefore stated, in his printed publication, before referred to, that a college township had been given; and he described his situation to be, as nearly opposite the mouth of Licking river, as an entire township could be found, eligible in point of soil and situation. He also selected in good faith, one of the best townships in the purchase, answering the description, and marked it on his map, as the college township. The township thus selected, was the third of the first entire range on which the town of Springdale now stands.—The tract was reserved from sale, and retained for the intended purpose: until Mr. Symmes ascertained, that his agents had relinquished one half of his proposed purchase, by closing a contract for one million of acres, by which his right to college lands was abandoned, and of course not provided for in the contract. He then, very properly, erased the endorsement from the map, and offered the township for sale, and as it was one of the best, and most desirable portions of his purchase, it was rapidly located. The matter remained in this situation, till the application in 1792, to change the boundaries of the purchase, and to grant a patent for as much land as his means would enable him to pay for. When the bill for that purpose was under consideration, General Dayton, the agent, and one of the associates of Mr. Symmes, being then an influential member of the House of Representatives, proposed a section, authorising the President to convey to Mr.

\* *American State Papers*, v. 637, 688.





Symmes and his associates, one entire township in trust, for the purpose of establishing an academy, and other schools of learning, conformably to an order of Congress, of the 2nd of October, 1787. The fact was, that the right, under the order referred to, had been lost, by the relinquishment of half the proposed purchase, in consequence of which the contract contained no stipulation for such a grant. Notwithstanding, from some cause, either want of correct information, or a willingness then, to make the gratuity, — most probably the latter — the section was adopted and became a part of the law. At that time there was not an entire township in the purchase, undisposed of. Large quantities of all of them, had been sold by Mr. Symmes, after his right to college lands had been lost, by the conduct of his agents, Dayton and Marsh. It was not, therefore, in his power to make the appropriation required by the act of Congress, though in arranging his payment at the treasury, he was credited with the price of the township. The matter remained in that situation, till about the time the legislature was elected, under the second grade of the territorial government, in 1799. Mr. Symmes then feeling the embarrassment of his situation, and aware that the subject would be taken up by the legislature, made a written proposition to the governor, offering the second township of the second fractional range, for the purposes of a college. On examination, the governor found, that he had sold an undivided moiety of that township, for a valuable consideration, in 1788; that the purchaser had obtained a decree in the circuit court of Pennsylvania, for a specific execution of the contract; and that he had also sold several smaller portions of the same township to others, who then held contracts for same. As a matter of course, the township was refused. He then appealed from the decision of the governor, to the territorial legislature. They also refused to receive it, for the same reasons which had been assigned by the governor. A similar refusal was afterward made, for the same reason, by the state legislature; to whom it was again offered. I had the charity to believe, that when Mr. Symmes first proposed the township, to the governor, it was his intention to buy up the claims against it, which he probably might have done at that time, on fair and moderate terms; but he omitted to do so, till that arrangement became impracticable, and until his embarrassments, produced by the refusal of Congress to confirm his contract for the land he had sold out of his patent, rendered it impossible for him, to make any remuneration to government, or the intended beneficiaries of the grant. The delegates representing the territory in Congress, were instructed, from time to time, to exert their influence to induce the government in some form, to secure the grant to the people of the Miami purchase. But nothing effectual was accomplished, till the



establishment of the state government in 1803; when a law was passed by Congress vesting in the legislature of Ohio, a quantity of land equal to one entire township, to be located under their direction, for the purpose of establishing an academy, in lieu of the township already granted, for the same purpose, by virtue of the act, entitled "an act authorising the grant and conveyance of certain lands, to John C. Symmes and his associates." Under the authority of an act of the Ohio legislature, passed in April, 1803, Jacob White, Jeremiah Morrow, and William Ludlow, made a location of these lands, amounting to thirty-six sections, as they are now held by the Miami University. In consequence of the early sales, by Judge Symmes, these lands were necessarily located west of the Great Miami river; and consequently without the limit of Symmes' purchase.\*

[One of the prominent events of 1804, was the ceremony of the transfer of Upper Louisiana, at St. Louis, on the 9th and 10th of March.

Amos Stoddard, a captain of artillery in the service of the United States, and to whom we are indebted for an admirable historical sketch of Louisiana, was constituted the agent of the French republic, for receiving from the Spanish authorities, the possession of Upper Louisiana.

He arrived at St. Louis early in March, and on the 9th day, received in due form possession of the province in the name of the French republic, and the next day made the transfer to the United States government, which he represented.

Mr. Primm says:—

"When the transfer was completely effected—when in the presence of the assembled population, the flag of the United States had replaced that of Spain—the tears and lamentations of the ancient inhabitants, proved how much they were attached to the old government, and how much they dreaded the change which the treaty of cession had brought about."†

Congress, on the 20th of March, divided Louisiana into two territories. The southern province was denominated the territory of Orleans; the northern was called Upper Louisiana. Captain Stoddard was appointed temporarily the Governor, with all the powers and prerogatives of the Spanish Lieutenant Governor in Upper Louisiana.

\* See Chase's Statutes, i. 72;—American Pioneer, i. 269;—Historical Transactions of Ohio, i. 152-155.

† Discourse at the Celebration, February 15, 1847.



In his sketches of Louisiana, Major Stoddard, (for that was soon his title) says:—

“St. Louis has two long streets, running parallel to the river, with a variety of others intersecting them at right angles. It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them include large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are enclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rock scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortably warm in summer. A small sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie, which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants.”\*

Mr. Primm says,

“This statement is only partially correct, for the street now called Third street then existed, and was known as, “*La Rue des Granges,*” *the street of the barns.* And in the common parlance of the country, First [or Main] street bore the appellation of “*La Rue principale,*” *the principal street*; and Second street that of “*La Rue de L'Eglise,*” *the street of the Church*, from the fact that the only church building in the town fronted on that street.

“This was a structure of hewn logs, planted upright in the ground, and covered with a roof, the eaves of which projected beyond the body of the building, and formed a kind of gallery or promenade around it.†

On entering upon the office, Major Stoddard published the following address to the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana:

“The period has now arrived, when, in consequence of amicable negotiations, Louisiana is in the possession of the United States. The plan of a permanent territorial government for you, is already under the consideration of Congress, and will doubtless be completed as soon as the importance of the measure will admit. But in the meantime, to secure your rights, and prevent a delay of justice, his excellency William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi territory, is invested with those authorities and powers (derived from an act of Congress) usually exercised by the governor and intendant general under his Catholic Majesty; and permit me to add that, by virtue of the authority and power vested in him by the President of the United States, he has been pleased to commission me as first civil commander of Upper Louisiana.

\* Stoddard's Sketches, p. 218, 219.

† Discourse, 12.



“Directed to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and to make known the sentiments of the United States relative to the security and preservation of all your rights, both civil and religious, I know of no mode better calculated to begin the salutary work, than a circular address.

“It will not be necessary to advert to the various preliminary arrangements which have conspired to place you in your present political situation; with these it is presumed you are already acquainted. Suffice it to observe, that Spain in 1800, and in 1801, retroceded the colony and province of Louisiana to France; and that France in 1803, conveyed the same territory to the United States, who are now in the peaceable and legal possession of it. These transfers were made with honorable views, and under such forms and sanctions as are usually practised among civilized nations.

“Thus you will perceive, that you are divested of the character of subjects, and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizen extended and secured. Between this government and its citizens, many reciprocal duties exist, and the prompt and regular performance of them is necessary to the safety and welfare of the whole. No one can plead exemption from these duties; they are equally obligatory on the rich and the poor; on men in power, as well as on those not intrusted with it. They are not prescribed as whim and caprice may dictate; on the contrary, they result from the actual or implied compact between society and its members, and are founded not only on the sober lessons of experience, but in the immutable nature of things. If, therefore, the government be bound to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion, the citizens are no less bound to obey the laws, and to aid the magistrate in the execution of them; to repel invasion, and in periods of public danger, to yield a portion of their time and exertions in defence of public liberty. In governments differently constituted, where popular elections are unknown, and where the exercise of power is confided to those of high birth, and great wealth, the public defence is committed to men who make the science of war an exclusive trade and profession; but in all free republics, where the citizens are capacitated to elect, and to be elected, into offices of emolument and dignity, permanent armies of any considerable extent are justly deemed hostile to liberty; and therefore the militia is considered as the palladium of their safety. Hence the origin of this maxim, that every soldier is a citizen, and every citizen a soldier.

“With these general principles before you, it is confidently





expected, that you will not be less faithful to the United States, than you have been to his Catholic majesty.

"Your local situation, the varieties in your language and education, have contributed to render your manners, laws, and customs, and even your prejudices, somewhat different from those of your neighbors, but not less favorable to virtue, and to good order in society. These deserve something more than mere indulgence; they shall be respected.

"If, in the course of former time, the people on different sides of the Mississippi, fostered national prejudices and antipathies against each other, suffer not these cankers of human happiness any longer to disturb your repose, or to awaken your resentment; draw the veil of oblivion over the past, and unite in pleasing anticipations of the future; embrace each other as brethren of the same mighty family, and think not, that any member of it can derive happiness from the misery or degradation of another.

"Little will the authority and example of the best magistrates avail, when the public mind becomes tainted with perverse sentiments, or languishes under an indifference to its true interests. Suffer not the pride of virtue, nor the holy fire of religion, to become extinct. If these be different in their nature, they are necessary supports to each other. Cherish the sentiments of order and tranquility, and frown on the disturbers of the public peace. Avoid as much as possible all legal contests; banish village vexation, and unite in the cultivation of the social and moral affections.

"Admitted as you are into the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts, and stamp its features on your future actions. To be useful, it must be enlightened; not the effect of passion, local prejudice, or blind impulse. Happy the people who possess invaluable rights, and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who do not think and act freely. It is a sure test of wisdom to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they be constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and integrity of our federal president; he is the faithful guardian of the laws; he entertains the most beneficent views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, will perpetuate his fame to posterity. Place equal confidence in all the other constituted authorities of the Union. They will protect your rights, and indeed your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies, so dear to rational and intelligent creatures. A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy, will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions, which you may after-



wards see cause to retract. The first official acts of my present station, authorized by high authority, will confirm these remarks.

"The United States, in the acquisition of Louisiana, were actuated by just and liberal views. Hence the admission of an article in the treaty of cession, the substance of which is, that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union, and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States: and, in the meantime, be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

"From these cursory hints you will be enabled to comprehend your present political situation, and to anticipate the future destinies of your country. You may soon expect the establishment of a territorial government, administered by men of wisdom and integrity, whose salaries will be paid out of the treasury of the United States. From your present population, and the rapidity of its increase, this territorial establishment must soon be succeeded by your admission as a State into the Federal Union. At that period, you will be at liberty to try an experiment in legislation, and to frame such a government as may best comport with your local interests, manners, and customs; popular suffrage will be its basis. The enactment of laws, and the appointment of judges to expound them, and to carry them into effect, are among the first privileges of organized society. Equal to these, indeed, and connected with them, is the inestimable right of trial by jury. The forms of judicial processes, and the rules for the admission of testimony in courts of justice, when firmly established, are of great and obvious advantage to the people. It is also of importance, that a distinction be made between trials of a capital nature, and those of an inferior degree, as likewise between all criminal and civil contestations. In fine, Upper Louisiana, from its climate, population, soil, and productions, and from other natural advantages attached to it, will, in all human probability, soon become a star of no inconsiderable magnitude in the American constellation.

"Be assured that the United States feel all the ardor for your interests, which a warm attachment can inspire. I have reason to believe that it will be among some of their first objects, to ascertain and confirm your land titles. They well know the deranged state of these titles and of the existence of a multitude of equitable claims under legal surveys, where no grants or concessions have been procured. What ultimate measures will be taken on this subject, does not become me to conjecture; but thus much I will venture to affirm, that the most ample justice will be done; and that, in the final adjustment of claims, no settler or landholder, will have any just cause to complain. Claimants of this description have hith-



erto invariably experienced the liberality of government; and surely it will not be less liberal to the citizens of Upper Louisiana, who form a strong cordon across an exposed frontier of a vast empire, and are entitled by solemn stipulations to all the rights and immunities of freemen.

“My duty, not more indeed than my inclination, urges me to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and between you and the United States. I suspect my talents to be unequal to the duties which devolve on me in the organization and temporary administration of the government; the want of a proper knowledge of your laws and language, is among the difficulties I have to encounter. But my ambition and exertions bear some proportion to the honor conferred on me; and the heavy responsibility attached to my office, admonishes me to be prudent and circumspect. Inflexible justice and impartiality shall guide me in all my determinations. If, however, in the discharge of a variety of complicated duties, almost wholly prescribed by the civil law and the code of the Indies, I be led into error, consider it as involuntary, and not as the effect of inattention, or of any exclusive favors or affections. Destined to be the temporary guardian of the rights and liberties of at least ten thousand people, I may not be able to gratify the just expectations of all; but your prosperity and happiness will claim all my time and talents; and no earthly enjoyment could be more complete, than that derived from your public and individual security, and from the increase of your opulence and power.”

Upper Louisiana, included all that part of the ancient province which lay north of a spot on the Mississippi, called “Hope Encampment,” nearly opposite the Chickasaw bluffs: including the territory now within the jurisdiction of the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, a large part of the territory of Minnesota, and all the vast regions of the west, far as the Pacific Ocean, south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, not claimed by Spain.

The civilized population of this territory is given by Major Stoddard, with as much accuracy as the nature of the case admitted. The settled portions had been divided into “Districts,” for purposes of local government. The population in 1803, in the settlements of Arkansas, Little Prairie and New Madrid, was estimated on such data as could be obtained, at one thousand three hundred and fifty; of which about two-thirds were Anglo-Americans, and the other third French.

The District of Cape Girardeau, included the territory between Tywappaty bottom and Apple creek—population in 1804, one thousand four hundred and seventy whites, and a



few slaves. Excepting three or four families, all were emigrants from the United States.

The District of Ste. Genevieve extended from Apple creek to the Merrimac. The settlements, (besides the village of Ste. Genevieve) included settlements on the head waters of the St. Francois and the lead mines. Population in 1804, two thousand three hundred and fifty whites, and five hundred and twenty slaves. More than half were Anglo-Americans.

The District of St. Louis, included the territory lying between the Merrimac and Missouri rivers. It contained the villages of St. Louis, Carondelet and St. Ferdinand, with several good settlements extending westward into what is now Franklin county.

The village of Carondelet contained between forty and fifty houses, population chiefly Canadian-French. St. Ferdinand contained sixty houses. The population of the district was about two thousand two hundred and eighty whites, and five hundred blacks. St. Louis contained about one hundred and eighty houses, which, allowing six persons to each house, would make the population one thousand and eighty. About three-fifths of the population in this District were Anglo-Americans. Each of the Districts extended indefinitely west.

The largest and most populous settlement in St. Louis District, was called St. Andrews. It was situated near the Missouri, in the north-western part of the present county of St. Louis.

The District of St. Charles, included all the inhabited country between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. It had two compact villages, St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, the inhabitants of which were French Creoles and Canadians.—Femme Osage was an extensive settlement of Anglo-American families. The population of the District in 1804, was about one thousand four hundred whites and one hundred and fifty blacks. The American and French population were about equally divided.\*

The aggregate population of Upper Louisiana at the period of the cession, was about 10,120, of which 3,760 were French, including a few Spanish families; 5,090 were Anglo-Americans, who had immigrated to the country after 1790;—

\* See Stoddard's Sketches, p. 211, 224.





and 1,270 black people, who were slaves, with very few exceptions.

Several circumstances gave impulse to migration to this province. The transfer of the Illinois country to the British crown in 1765, caused many wealthy and respectable families to retire across the Mississippi.

The ordinance of 1787, which prohibited involuntary servitude in the north-western territory, caused slave holders, who were disposed to preserve this species of property, to abandon their ancient possessions. The proffered aid of Clark in 1779, (ante page 250) when he apprehended an attack from Canada, and more especially the projected attack on the Spanish possessions along the Mississippi, from the same quarter, in 1797, induced a friendly feeling towards Americans.

Major Stoddard says:—

“The distance of this province from the capital, [New Orleans,] added to a wilderness of nearly a thousand miles in extent between them, seemed to point out the necessity of strengthening it; and she conceived it good policy to populate it by the citizens of the United States, especially as they appeared disposed to act with vigor against the English. Additional prospects, therefore, were held out to settlers, and pains were taken to disseminate them in every direction.—Large quantities of land were granted them, attended with no other expenses than those of office fees, and surveys, which were not exorbitant; and they were totally exempted from taxation. This sufficiently accounts for the rapid population of Upper Louisiana; which, in 1804, consisted of more than three-fifths of English Americans.” †

Why did so many American citizens expatriate themselves, place themselves and their posterity under Spanish despotism, and beyond the protection of the rights of conscience? This is a question of grave and momentous import, and if it remained unanswered, might leave a suspicion on the character and motives of the American emigrants. Happily, we have the opportunity for explanation. We have been intimately acquainted with a large number of these pioneers, a few of whom still linger amongst us, and more than thirty years since we heard their own explanations.

*They acted under a presentiment, that, in some way, the jurisdiction of the United States would be extended over this country.—They projected no violent action—no revolutionary schemes. The impression, doubtless, had its origin in the efforts in the*

†Sketches of Louisiana, 225.



western country to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi. Of the character of the American population, we ought to say a word, to correct an erroneous notion that has prevailed in the Atlantic States, concerning frontier emigration.

"A very small number had fled their country to avoid the consequences of crime or improvidence. But a very large majority were peaceable, industrious, moral and well-disposed persons, who, from various motives, had crossed the "Great Water;" some from the love of adventure; some from that spirit of restlessness, which belongs to a class; but a much larger number with the expectation of obtaining large tracts of land, which the government gave to each settler for the trifling expense of surveying and recording. \* \* \*

"Under the Spanish government the Roman Catholic faith was the established religion of the province, and no other christian sect was tolerated by the laws of Spain. Each emigrant was required to be *un bon Catholique*, as the French expressed it; yet by the connivance of the commandants of Upper Louisiana, and by the use of a legal fiction in the examination of Americans, who applied for lands, toleration in fact existed.

"Many Protestant families, communicants in Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, and other Churches, settled in the province, and remained undisturbed in their religious principles. Protestant itinerant clergymen passed over from Illinois, and preached in the log cabins of the settlers unmolested, though they were occasionally threatened with imprisonment in the *calabozo* at St. Louis. Yet these threats were never executed.\*"

No religious society was organized amongst these emigrants until after the treaty of cession.

We now return to events in the territory of Indiana. During the month of August, a series of treaties were made by Governor Harrison at Vincennes, by which the claims of several Indian nations to large tracts of land in Indiana and Illinois, were relinquished to the United States, for due consideration. The Delawares sold their claim to a large tract between the Wabash and Ohio rivers; and the Piankeshaws gave up their title to lands granted by the Kaskaskia Indians the preceding year.

It should be understood by all, that, in most instances, Indian claims are vague and undefined; that several tribes set up a claim to the same tract; and that the policy of the United

\* Life of Boone in Sparks' Biography, vol. xxiii. pp. 166, 167, 169, 170.



States has been to negotiate with each claimant, without regard to priority of right.

In November, Governor Harrison negotiated with the chiefs of the united nations of Sacs and Foxes, for their claim to the immense tract of country lying between the Mississippi, Illinois, Fox river of Illinois, and Wisconsin rivers, comprehending about fifty millions of acres. The consideration given was the protection of the United States, and goods delivered at the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents, and an annuity of one thousand dollars, (\$600 to the Sacs and \$400 to the Foxes) forever.—An article in this treaty provided, that as long as the United States remained the owner of the land, “the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting” on the land.

The remark just made applies to this case. When the French discovered and took possession of Illinois, neither the Sacs nor Foxes had any claim or existence on this tract of country.\*]

During this year measures were adopted to learn the facts as to the settlements about Detroit, and an elaborate report upon them was made by C. Jouett, the Indian Agent in Michigan. From that report, we take some sentences illustrative of the state of the capital.

The town of Detroit.—The charter, which is for fifteen acres square, was granted in the time of Louis XIV. of France, and is now from the best information I have been able to collect, at Quebec. Of those two hundred and twenty-five acres, only four are occupied by the town and Fort Lenault. The remainder is a common, except twenty-four, which were added twenty years ago to a farm belonging to William Maccomb. As to the titles to the lots in town, I should conceive that the citizens might legally claim, from a length of undisturbed and peaceable possession, even in the absence of a more valid and substantial tenure. Several of those lots are held by the commanding officer as appendages of the garrison. A stockade encloses the town, fort, and citadel. The pickets, as well as the public houses, are in a state of gradual decay, and in a few days, without repairs, they must fall to the ground. The streets are narrow, straight, regular, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are, for the most part, low and inelegant; and although many of them are convenient and suited to the occupations of the people,

\* American State Papers, v. 689, 690, 663. Dawson's Life of Harrison, 59.



there are perhaps a majority of them which require very considerable reparation.\*

Congress, during 1804, granted a township of land in Michigan for the support of a College.†

On the 11th of January, 1805, Congress made Michigan a separate territory, with William Hull for its Governor: the change of Government was to take place on June 30th. On the 11th of that month a fire at Detroit destroyed all the buildings at that place, public and private, together with much of the personal property of the inhabitants. On the 29th of June, the Presiding Judge reached the Strait, and upon the 1st of July, the Governor arrived there. They found the people, in part, encamped on and near the site of the destroyed town, and in part scattered through the country.‡ From their report to Congress, made in October, we extract the following passages:

“The place which bore the appellation of the town of Detroit, was a spot of about two acres of ground, completely covered with buildings and combustible materials, the narrow intervals of fourteen or fifteen feet, used as streets or lanes, only excepted; and the whole was environed with a very strong and secure defence of tall and solid pickets. The circumjacent ground, the bank of the river alone excepted, was a wide commons; and though assertions are made respecting the existence, among the records of Quebec, of a charter from the King of France, confirming this commons as an appurtenance to the town, it was either the property of the United States, or at least such as individual claims did not pretend to cover. The folly of attempting to rebuild the town, in the original mode, was obvious to every mind: yet there existed no authority, either in the country, or in the officers of the new government, to dispose of the adjacent ground. Hence had already arisen a state of dissension which urgently required the interposition of some authority to quiet. Some of the inhabitants, destitute of shelter, and hopeless of any prompt arrangements of Government, had re-occupied their former ground, and a few buildings had already been erected in the midst of the old ruins. Another portion of the inhabitants had determined to take possession of the adjacent public ground, and to throw themselves on the liberality of the Government of the United States, either to make them a do-

\* American State Papers, xvi. 190 to 192. On titles in Michigan, see American State Papers, *Public Lands*, vol. i. from 283 to 508.

† Lannan, 230.

‡ Lanman, 169.—American State Papers, xvi. 247.—Land Laws, 514.





nation of the ground, as a compensation for their sufferings, or to accept of a very moderate price for it. If they could have made any arrangement of the various pretensions of individuals, or could have agreed on any plan of a town, they would soon have begun to build. But the want of a civil authority to decide interfering claims, or to compel the refractory to submit to the wishes of a majority, had yet prevented them from carrying any particular measure into execution.— On the morning of Monday, the 1st day of July, the inhabitants had assembled for the purpose of resolving on some definitive mode of procedure. The Judges prevailed on them to defer their intentions for a short time, giving them assurances that the Governor of the territory would shortly arrive, and that every arrangement in the power of their domestic Government would be made for their relief. On these representations they consented to defer their measures for one fortnight. In the evening of the same day the Governor arrived; it was his first measure to prevent any encroachments from being made on the public land. The situation of the distressed inhabitants then occupied the attention of the members of the Government for two or three days. The result of these discussions was, to proceed to lay out a new town, embracing the whole of the old town and the public lands adjacent; to state to the people that nothing in the nature of a title could be given under any authorities then possessed by the Government; and that they could not be justified in holding out any charitable donations whatever, as a compensation for their sufferings, but that every personal exertion would be made to obtain a confirmation of the arrangements about to be made, and to obtain the liberal attention of the Government of the United States to their distresses.

A town was accordingly surveyed and laid out, and the want of authority to impart any regular title, without the subsequent sanction of Congress, being first impressed and clearly understood, the lots were exposed to sale under that reservation. Where the purchaser of a lot was a proprietor in the old town, he was at liberty to extinguish his former property in his new acquisition, foot for foot, and was expected to pay only for the surplus, at the rate expressed in his bid. A considerable part of the inhabitants were only tenants in the old town, there being no means of acquiring any new titles. The sale of course could not be confined merely to former proprietors, but, as far as possible, was confined to former inhabitants. After the sale of a considerable part, by auction, the remainder was disposed of by private contract, deducting from the previous sales the basis of the terms. As soon as the necessities of the immediate inhabitants were accommodated, the sales were entirely stopped, until the pleasure of Government could be consulted. As no title could be made, or was pre-



tended to be made, no payments were required, or any moneys permitted to be received, until the expiration of one year, to afford time for Congress to interpose. The remaining part was stipulated to be paid in four successive annual instalments. The highest sum resulting from the bids was seven cents for a square foot, and the whole averaged at least four cents. In this way the inhabitants were fully satisfied to commence their buildings, and the interfering pretensions of all individuals were eventually reconciled.\*

In this same report attention was called to the unsettled southern boundary of Michigan, to the state of the land titles generally, and other important points. [Only six *regular* titles were found in Michigan.†]

While in Michigan the territorial government was taking shape, Indiana passed to the second grade of the same, as provided by the ordinance, and obtained her General Assembly; while various treaties with the northern tribes were transferring to the United States the Indian title to large and valuable tracts of country. On the 4th of July, the Wyandots and others, at Fort Industry, on the Maumee, ceded all their lands as far west as the western boundary of the Connecticut Reserve; upon the 21st of August, Governor Harrison, at Vincennes, received from the Miamies a region containing two million acres within what is now Indiana; and upon the 30th of December, at the same place, purchased of the Piankeshaws a tract eighty or ninety miles wide, extending from the Wabash west to the cession by the Kaskaskias in 1803. At this time, although some murders by the red men had taken place in the far west, the body of natives seemed bent on peace.‡ But mischief was gathering. Tecumthe, his brother the Prophet and other leading men, had formed at Greenville the germ of that union of tribes by which the whites were to be restrained in their invasions. We are by no means satisfied that the Great Indian of later days used any concealment, or meditated any treachery toward the United States, for many years after this time. The efforts of himself and his brother were directed to two points: first, the reformation of the savages, whose habits unfitted them for continuous and heroic effort; and second, such a union as would make the

\*American State Papers, xvi. 247.

†American State Papers, xvi. 263 to 284; 305 to 557 and 592.

‡American State Papers, v. 605, 695, 696, 791, 702, 704, 705.



purchase of land by the United States impossible, and give to the aborigines a strength that might be dreaded. Both these objects were avowed, and both were pursued with wonderful energy, perseverance and success ; in the whole country bordering upon the lakes, the power of the Prophet was felt, and the work of reformation went on rapidly.\*

[The policy of Tecumthe was to bring into one grand confederation all the nations of Indians that had any intercourse with the United States, and admit of no treaties, or sales of land, without the united consent of all the tribes. Such a confederation never had existed, and magnificent as was the scheme, it was wholly impracticable in the nature of things. Tecumthe could read and write, and he had for his confidential secretary and adviser, Billy Caldwell, a half-breed, an educated man, and subsequently head chief of the Pottawatomie nation, who died in 1845, near Council Bluffs in Iowa. Mr. Caldwell, who gave the editor these facts, had a trunk full of papers, including the "talks," and negotiations sent to various Indian tribes before the war of 1812-15. The interview was in Chicago, in 1833, where he then resided.]

It was during this year that Burr paid his first visit to the West. On the 11th of July, 1804, he had shot General Hamilton, an event which he felt would "ostracise" him ; would force him to seek elsewhere for power, money, and fame. On the 2d of March, 1805, the Vice President took his celebrated leave of the Senate, and upon the 29th of April was at Pittsburgh. His purpose in going westward was not the gratification of curiosity merely, and from Wilkinson we learn that he was concerned with Dayton and others in the projected canal round the Falls, at Louisville ; a proposal which had been before the United States' Senate in January. From Pittsburgh he proceeded down the Ohio to Louisville, thence went to Lexington and Nashville by land, and from the latter place passed down the Cumberland, and upon the 6th of June reached Fort Massac. During his visit to Tennessee he was treated with great attention, and both then and previously had some conversation relative to a residence in that state, with a view to political advancement. His intentions, however, seem to have been entirely vague : among other plans, he had some thought of trying to displace Governor Claiborne of the Or-

\*Drake's *Tecumseh*, 88, 93, 103.



leans territory, and took from Wilkinson, whom he met at Fort Massac, a letter to Daniel Clark, the Governor's most violent foe. On the 25th of June, Burr reached the capitol of the south-west, where he remained until the 10th of July, when he crossed by land to Nashville, and spent a week with General Jackson—and upon the 20th of August, was at Lexington again: from Lexington, he went by the Falls, Vincennes and Kaskaskia, to St. Louis, where he met General Wilkinson about the middle of September. By this time, all his plans appear to have undergone a change again. At New Orleans he had been made aware of the existence of an association to invade Mexico and wrest it from Spain; he was asked to join it, but refused. He saw, however, at that time, if not before, that, should the dispute relative to boundaries then existing between the United States result in war, an opportunity would be given to men of spirit to conquer and rule Mexico, and this idea thenceforth became his leading one. But in connection with this plan of invasion, in case of war, there arose whispers in relation to effecting a separation of the western from the Atlantic States; of this we have knowledge by a letter from Daniel Clark to General Wilkinson, written September 7th. What Burr's conversations with the commander at St. Louis were, we are not particularly told, but we learn that he suggested the Mexican plan, and also intimated that the Union was rotten and the western people dissatisfied. Such was the effect of his talk that soon after he left, Wilkinson wrote to the Secretary of the Navy advising the government to have an eye on Burr, as he was "about something, but whether internal or external," he could not learn. Thus, during 1805, the idea of a separation of the western states from the Union by Burr and Wilkinson, had become familiar to many minds, even though the principals themselves may have had no more thought of such a thing than of taking possession of the moon, and dividing her among their friends.\*

Upon the 23d of September, Lieutenant Pike, on his way up the Mississippi, bought of the Sioux two tracts, one at the

\*For all these facts see Davis' *Memoirs of Burr*, ii. 327, 367, 368 to 370, 378, 379, 380.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*, ii. 274 to 278; Spence's *Deposition*, ii. 283, note;—also, *ibid*, Appendix, 2, xviii. Col. Lyon's *Deposition*. *American State Papers*, xx. 571. *Ibid*, ii. 660 to 669. Also, *Burr's Trial at Richmond, Va.*





mouth of the St. Croix river, the other at the mouth of the St. Peters, including the Falls of St. Anthony.\*

In the bill authorizing Ohio to become a State, was the following provision :

Third, that one twentieth part of the nett proceeds of the lands lying within the said State, sold by Congress, from and after the thirtieth day of June next, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making public roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio, to the said State, and through the same ; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the road shall pass.†

In conformity with this clause, steps were taken during 1805, which resulted in the making of the Cumberland or National road.

During the year 1806, the conviction became more and more strong that the north-western tribes were meditating hostilities against the United States, but nothing of consequence took place ; although Tecumthe and the Prophet constantly extended and confirmed their influence.‡

In September, 1806, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke returned from their exploration of the Missouri and Oregon rivers. This expedition had been suggested by Mr. Jefferson in January, 1803. His views being sanctioned by Congress, Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke entered the Missouri, May 14, 1804. The ensuing winter they spent among the Mandans, and in April, 1805, again set forward. With great difficulty the mountains were passed, in the September following, and the Pacific reached upon the 17th of November. Here the winter of 1805-6 was passed. On the 27th of March, 1806, the return journey was begun, and the mountains were crossed late in June.

The difficulties with Spain began early in the year to assume a serious appearance ; in February, acts of a semi-hos-

\*American State Papers, v. 753, 755. Pike's Expedition up the Mississippi, in 1805, '6 '7, published in Philadelphia, 1810.

† Land Laws, 476.

‡ Dawson's Harrison, 83 to 90. Drake's Tecumseh, 89 to 91.

American State Papers, v. 634, 705. Lewis and Clarke's Journal.



tile character took place,\* and in August, Spanish troops crossed the Sabine and took possession of the territory east of that river. This led first to a correspondence between Gov. Claiborne and the Spaniard in command; and next to a movement by General Wilkinson and his army to the contested border. While his troops were at Natchitoches, in immediate expectation of an engagement, Samuel Swartwout reached Wilkinson's camp, with letters from Burr and Dayton of such a character as to bring matters in relation to the conquest of Mexico almost instantly to a crisis.†

[Burr had not entirely given up his chance as a politician in the Atlantic states, as may be seen in the letter of General Adair, in Wilkinson's *Memoirs of his Own Times*, vol. ii. Appendix, lxxvii.]

Burr, from January to August, Mr. Davis tells us, was most of the time in Washington and Philadelphia, but not idle, for in a letter to Wilkinson, dated April 16th, the conspirator says, "Burr will be throughout the United States this summer;" and refers to "the association," as enlarged, and to the "project" as postponed till December. In July, Commodore Truxton learned from Burr that he was interested largely in lands upon the Washita, which he proposed to settle if his Mexican project failed; and in August we find that he left for the west. On the 21st of that month he was in Pittsburgh, and there suggested to Colonel George Morgan and his son the probable disunion of the States, growing out of the extreme weakness of the Federal Government; a suggestion similar to that said to have been made, though in a much more distinct and strong form, to General Eaton, in the March preceding. His plans, indeed, whatever their extent, were before this time fixed and perfected, for it was upon the 29th of July that he wrote from Philadelphia to General Wilkinson the letter confided to Swartwout, which led to the development of the whole business; this letter we extract, together with Wilkinson's deposition of December 26th, explanatory of Burr's plans.‡

\* *American State Papers*, ii. 798.

† *American State Papers*, ii. 803 to 804. See for documents Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, ii. appendix, lx. lxxxvii, to xciii. Also, *American State Papers*, xx, 561 to 563, 565.

‡ Davis' *Memoirs*, ii. 375;—Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, ii. Appendix, lxxxiii;—*American State Papers*, xx. 471, 472, 493 to 596.



[Yours, post-marked 13th of May, is received.]\* I, Aaron Burr, have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points, and under different pretences, will rendezvous on Ohio, 1st November—every thing internal and external favors views : protection of England is secured. T—— is going to Jamaica, to arrange with the Admiral on that station ; it will meet on the Mississippi.—England.—Navy of the United States are ready to join, and final orders are given to my friends and followers ; it will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only : Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward 1st of August, never to return : with him go his daughter : the husband will follow in October, with a corps of worthies.

Send forth an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may confer ; he shall return immediately with further interesting details : this is essential to concert and harmony of movement ; send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson, west of the mountains, who may be useful, with a note delineating their characters. By your messenger send me four or five commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretence you please ; they shall be returned faithfully. Already are orders to the contractor given, to forward six months provisions to points Wilkinson may name ; this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions : the project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and honor, with the lives, the honor and fortune of hundreds, the best blood of our country. Burr's plan of operations is, to move down rapidly from the Falls on the 15th November, with the first 500, or 1000 men, in light boats now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December ; there to meet Wilkinson ; there to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance to seize on or pass by Baton Rouge : on receipt of this send an answer ; draw on Burr for all expenses, &c. The people of the country to which we are going, are prepared to receive us : their agents now with Burr say, that if we will protect their religion and will not subject them to a foreign power, that in three weeks all will be settled. The gods invite to glory and fortune : it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon : the bearer of this goes express to you ; he will hand a formal letter of introduction to you from Burr : he is a man of inviolable honor and perfect discretion ; formed to execute rather than to project ; capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise ; he is thoroughly informed of the plans

\* The parts in brackets were omitted in the copy which Wilkinson used, in causing the arrest of Bollman and others. (See American State Papers, xx. 471, 472.) This omission was the ground of the accusation hereafter referred to



and intentions of [Burr,] and will disclose to you as far as you inquire, and no further: he has imbibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your presence: put him at ease and he will satisfy you.\*

JULY 29.

I instantly resolved—says Wilkinson in his affidavit—to avail myself of the reference made to the beaver, and, in the course of some days, drew from him (the said Swartwout) the following disclosure: “That he had been despatched by Colonel Burr from Philadelphia; had passed through the States of Ohio and Kentucky, and proceeded from Louisville for St. Louis, where he expected to find me; but discovering at Kaskaskias that I had descended the river, he procured a skiff, hired hands, and followed me down the Mississippi to Fort Adams; and from thence set out for Natchitoches, in company with Captain Sparks and Hooke, under the pretence of a disposition to take part in the campaign against the Spaniards, then depending. That Colonel Burr, with the support of a powerful association extending from New York to New Orleans, was levying an armed body of seven thousand men from the State of New York and the western States and territories, with a view to carry an expedition against the Mexican provinces; and that five hundred men, under Colonel Swartwout and a Colonel or Major Tyler, were to descend the Alleghany, for whose accommodation light boats had been built and were ready.” I inquired what would be their course; he said, “this territory would be revolutionized, where the people were ready to join them; and that there would be some seizing, he supposed, at New Orleans; that they expected to be ready to embark about the 1st of February; and intended to land at Vera Cruz, and to march from thence to Mexico.” I observed that there were several millions of dollars in the bank of this place; to which he replied, “we know it full well;” and, on my remarking that they certainly did not mean to violate private property, he said, “they meant to borrow, and would return it; that they must equip themselves in New Orleans; that they expected naval protection from Great Britain; that the captains and the officers of our navy were so disgusted with the Government that they were ready to join; that similar disgusts prevailed throughout the western country, where the people were zealous in favor of the enterprise; and that pilot-boat built schooners were contracted for along our southern coast for their service; that he had been accompanied from the falls of Ohio to Kaskaskias, and from thence to Fort Adams, by a Mr. Ogden, who had proceeded on to New Orleans with letters from Colonel Burr to his friends there.” Swartwout asked me whether I had

\* Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii, 3





heard from Dr. Bollman ; and, on my answering in the negative, he expressed great surprise, and observed, " that the Doctor and a Mr. Alexander had left Philadelphia before him with despatches for me ; and that they were to proceed by sea to New Orleans, where he said they must have arrived.

Though determined to deceive him, if possible, I could not refrain telling Mr. Swartwout it was impossible that I could ever dishonor my commission ; and I believe I duped him by my admiration of the plan and by observing, that although I could not join in the expedition, the engagements which the Spaniards had prepared for me in my front might prevent my opposing it. Yet I did, the moment I had deciphered the letter, put it into the hands of Colonel Cushing, my adjutant and inspector ; making the declaration that I should oppose the lawless enterprise with my utmost force. Mr. Swartwout informed me that he was under engagements to meet Colonel Burr at Nashville on the 20th of November, and requested of me to write to him, which I declined ; and on his leaving Natchitoches about the 18th of October, I immediately employed Lieutenant T. A. Smith to convey the information in substance to the President without the commitment of names ; for from the extraordinary nature of the project and the more extraordinary appeal to me, I could but doubt its reality, notwithstanding the testimony before me ; and I did not attach solid belief to Mr. Swartwout's reports respecting their intentions on this Territory and city, until I received confirmatory advice from St. Louis.\*

After leaving Pittsburgh, Burr went probably direct to Blennerhassett's Island, where he had stopped the previous summer, while passing down the Ohio, and which he thenceforth made his head-quarters. This he was probably led to do by the fact that Blennerhassett, in December, 1805, had written him, that he should like to take part in any western speculations, or in attacking Mexico, should a Spanish war actually occur. This offer, together with the supposed wealth of Blennerhassett, and the admirable position of his island for Burr's purposes, made that place the very one most desirable for him to select as his centre of operations. From this point the Chief made excursions into Ohio and Kentucky, obtaining money, men, boats and provisions.

Among those from whom he received the most aid was Davis Floyd, of Jeffersonville, a member of the Indiana Assembly : this gentleman, Blennerhassett, Comfort Tyler and Israel Smith, were Burr's chiefs of division, and led the few fol-

\* *American State Papers*, xx. 472.



lowers that at last went down the river in his company. Meantime the rumor was prevalent "in every man's mouth," that the settlement of the Washita lands,\* for which the men were nominally enlisted, was a mere pretence, and that an attack on Mexico, if not something worse, was in contemplation.† That something was looked for beyond a conquest of the Spanish provinces, seemed probable from the views expressed in a series of essays called the "Querist;" these were published in September in the Ohio Gazette, (Marietta,) were written by Blennerhassett, immediately after Burr's visit to his island, and strongly intimated that wisdom called on the western people to leave the Union. At this time Colonel Joseph Daviess was attorney for the United States in Kentucky, and he, together with others,‡ felt that the General Government ought to be informed of what was doing, and of what was rumored; Mr. Jefferson accordingly, in the latter part of September, received intimations of what was going forward, but as nothing definite could be charged there was no point of attack, and the Executive and his friends could do nothing farther than watch and wait. At length, late in October, notice of the building of boats and collection of provisions having reached him, the President sent a confidential agent into the west,§ and also gave orders to the Governors and commanders to be upon their guard. Daviess, meantime, had gathered a mass of testimony implicating Burr, which led him to take the step of bringing the subject, in November, before the United States District Court, making oath, "that he was informed, and did verily believe, that Aaron Burr for several months past had been, and now is engaged, in preparing and setting on foot, and in providing and preparing the means for a military expedition and enterprise within this district, for the purpose of descending the Ohio and Mississippi therewith; and making war upon the subjects of the King of Spain." After having read this affidavit, the attorney added, "I have information, on which I can rely, that all the western territories are the next object of the scheme—and

\* See Colonel Lyon, in Wilkinson, ii. Appendix lxviii;—Davis, ii. 392;—Butler's Kentucky, 312, 313.—American State Papers, xx. 499, 524, 535, 599.

† Burnet's letters, 103. Numerous witnesses at Burr's trial, Richmond.

‡ See the Statements and papers in Marshall, ii. 385 to 413—424 to 433.

§ Mr. John Graham, secretary of the Orleans Territory. His evidence is in American State Papers, xx. 523, &c.



finally, all the region of the Ohio, is calculated, as falling into the vortex of the newly proposed revolution."

Upon this affidavit Daviess asked for Burr's arrest, but the motion was overruled. The accused, however, who saw at once the most politic course, came into court and demanded an investigation, which could not be had, however, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining Davis Floyd as a witness. Thus far the public generally sympathized with Burr, whose manners secured all suffrages, and who, on the 1st of December was able to write to Henry Clay, his attorney, in these terms: "I have no design, nor have I taken any measure to promote a dissolution of the Union, or a separation of any one or more States from the residue. I have neither published a line on this subject, nor has any one through my agency or with my knowledge. I have no design to intermeddle with the government, or to disturb the tranquility of the United States, nor of its territories, or of any part of them. I have neither issued nor signed, nor promised a commission to any person, for any purpose. I do not own a musket nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor does any person for me, by my authority, or my knowledge. My views have been explained to, and approved by, several of the principal officers of government, and, I believe, are well understood by the administration, and seen by it with complacency; they are such as every *man of honor and every good citizen* must approve. Considering the high station you now fill in our national councils, I have thought these explanations proper, as well to counteract the chimerical tales, which malevolent persons have industriously circulated, as to satisfy you that you have not espoused the cause of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government or the interests of the country."\*

The agent from government, who was all along actively engaged in procuring evidence relative to Burr's plans, finding abundant proof of his Mexican project, and learning also that he thought the West ought to separate from the East,† determined in December, to take measures to arrest his boats and provisions. This he effected by an application to the

\* Butler's Kentucky, 313, 316. See Jefferson's Message, American State Papers, xx. 469.

† American State Papers, xx. 531, 529.



Legislature of Ohio, through Governor Tiffin. The Legislature authorized the Governor to take the necessary steps, and before the 14th of December, ten boats with stores were arrested on the Muskingum, and soon after, four more were seized by the troops at Marietta.\* Blennerhassett, Tyler, and thirty or forty men, on the night of December 10th, left the Island, and proceeded down the river,—barely escaping an arrest by General Tupper, on behalf of the State of Ohio. On the 16th, this party united with that of Floyd at the Falls, and on the 26th, the whole, together, met Burr at the mouth of the Cumberland. On the 29th, the company passed Fort Massac.

But while Daviess and Graham were laboring to put a stop to Burr's progress, the General Government had received information which enabled the President to act with decision; this was the message of Wilkinson, bearing an account of Burr's letter already quoted. This message was sent from Natchitoches upon the 22d of October, and reached the seat of government, November 25th; on the 27th, a proclamation was issued and word sent westward to arrest all concerned. About the same time, (November 24th or 25th,) Wilkinson, who had done, unauthorized, upon the 1st of November, the very thing he had been ordered on the 8th to do,—namely, to make an accommodation with the Spanish commander on the Sabine, and fall back to the Mississippi, reached New Orleans, and prepared to resist any attack thereon: at this city he arrested Swartwout, Peter V. Ogden, who was discharged, however, on *Habcas Corpus*, and Dr. Erick Bollman, who had also borne messages from Burr and Dayton.†

What Burr may have felt or intended after he met his fugitive followers at the mouth of Cumberland river, late in December, 1806, it is impossible to say, but it is certain that he went on openly and boldly, protesting against the acts of Ohio, and avowing his innocence. If he had relied on Wilkinson, he was as yet undeceived with regard to him. On the 4th of January, 1807, he was at Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs, and soon after at Bayou Pierre. From this point

\* See Governor Tiffin's Letters. Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 259, 260. His message of December 15th. Journal of Senate, 36.

† American State Papers, xx. from 466 to 600. Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 318, and various appendices to the volume.





he wrote to the authorities below, referring to the rumors respecting him, alledging his innocence, and begging them to avoid the horrors of civil war. Word had just been received from Jefferson, however, of the supposed conspiracy; the militia were under arms; and the acting Governor of the Mississippi Territory, Cowles Mead, on the 16th of January, sent two aids to meet Colonel Burr; one of these was Geo. Poindexter. At this meeting, an interview between the acting Governor was arranged, which took place on the 17th; at which time Burr yielded himself to the civil authority. He was then taken to Washington, the capital of the territory, and legal proceedings commenced. Mr. Poindexter was himself Attorney-General, and as such advised that Burr had been guilty of no crime within Mississippi, and wished to have him sent to the seat of government of the United States: the presiding Judge, however, summoned a Grand Jury, which, upon the evidence before them, presented—not Burr for treason—but the acting Governor for calling out the militia! That evening, Colonel Burr, fearing an arrest by officers sent by Wilkinson, forfeited his bonds and disappeared. A proclamation being issued by the Governor for his apprehension, he was seized on the Tombigbee river on his way to Florida, and was sent at once to Richmond, where he arrived March 26th.\* On the 22d of May, Burr's examination began in the Circuit Court of the United States at Richmond, before Judge Marshall; two bills were found against him, one for treason against the United States, the other for a misdemeanor in organizing an enterprise against Mexico, while at peace with the United States: but on both these charges the jury found him "not guilty," "upon the principle that the offence, if committed anywhere, was committed out of the jurisdiction of the Court." The Chief Justice, however, upon the latter charge, subsequently ordered his commitment for trial within the proper jurisdiction. This commitment, however, being impliedly upon the supposition that the United States wished, under the circumstances, to prosecute the accused, and the attorney for the government declining to do so, no further steps were taken to bring the supposed culprit to justice, and the details of his doings and plans have never yet been made known.

\* American State Papers. XL 477, 478, 530, 531, 545, 568 to 570, 602.—Davis ii. 389.—Butler 318.



Although a mystery still hangs about Burr's plans, in consequence of the discontinuance of the suit by the United States, we think it has been clearly proved by the trial at Richmond and other evidence—1st, that Burr went into the West in 1805 with the feeling that his day at the East was over; in New York he feared even a prosecution if he remained there.\*

2nd, That his plans, until late in that year, were undefined; speculations of various kinds, a residence in Tennessee, an appointment in the South-west, were under consideration, but nothing was determined:

3d, That he at length settled upon three objects, to one or the other of which, as circumstances might dictate, he meant to devote his energies: these were—

A separation of the West from the East under himself and Wilkinson:

Should this be, upon further examination, deemed impossible, then an invasion of Mexico by himself and Wilkinson, with or without the sanction of the federal government:

In case of disappointment in reference to Mexico, then the foundation of a new state upon the Washita, over which he might preside as founder and patriarch.†

That the Washita scheme was not a mere pretence, we think evident from the fact that Burr actually paid toward the purchase four or five thousand dollars: that it was not the only object, and that the conquest of Mexico, if it could be effected, was among his settled determinations, his friends all acknowledged, but said this conquest was to take place upon the supposition of a war with Spain, and in no other case: that Burr may have thought the government would wink at his proceedings, is very possible; and that Wilkinson either meant to aid him, or pretended he would, in order to learn his plans, is certain; but the secrecy of his movements, the language of his letter to Wilkinson in July, 1806, and his whole character, convinces us that he would, if he could, have invaded Mexico, whether the United States were at war or peace with Spain.

But we cannot doubt that, going beyond a violation of the

\* Davis' Memoirs, ii. 385, 412.—American State Papers, xx. 641 to 645.

† See American State Papers, xx. 530, where Burr speaks to Graham of the Washita lands and "a separate government."



laws of the Union, he was disposed to seek a separation of that Union itself. During his visit of 1805, he was undoubtedly made fully acquainted with the old schemes for independence entertained in Kentucky, and was led to question the real attachment of the western people to the federal government. So long as he thought there was a probability of disunion, it would naturally be his first object to place himself at the head of the republic beyond the mountains, and should he find himself deceived as to the extent of disaffection in the Great Valley, all his means could be brought to bear upon Mexico. His conversations with the Morgans at Pittsburgh, the views of the "Querist" prepared by Blennerhassett under Burr's eye, and the declarations of Blennerhassett to Henderson and Graham, seem to leave no room for doubting the fact that a dissolution of the United States had been contemplated by the ex-Vice-President, although we think there is as little reason to doubt that it had been abandoned as hopeless, long before his arrest.\* [Judge Marshall said, (*American State Papers*, xx. 644,) "that the object of these writings," (the "Querist,") "was to prepare the western states for a dismemberment, is apparent on the face of them."

It appears to the editor that every unprejudiced mind, who analyzes the character of Aaron Burr, from the voluminous works to which our references direct, and traces out his history, must regard him as devoid of all virtuous principles. His history, with that of Benedict Arnold, should be held forth as a beacon light to young men, of the dangerous rocks and quicksands of unbridled ambition.]

With regard to Wilkinson, it is not easy to form a decided opinion; the strongest fact in his favor is that he informed the government of Burr's projects, in the fall of 1805; the strongest fact against him is, that if innocent, he was able to outwit and entrap so subtle a man as the conspirator. It has been charged against Wilkinson that he altered the letter sent him by Burr, and then swore that the copy was a true copy: this, however, is fully explained by the deposition of Mr. Duncan, Wilkinson's legal adviser at New Orleans, by whom indeed the omission was suffered designedly to remain, in opposition to the General's repeated and strong expression of his wish

\*See Lynch's Testimony in *American State Papers*, xx. 599;—same vol. pages 501, 503, 526 to 531.



that it should be supplied. Another charge has been brought against Wilkinson since his death, that he claimed of Mexico two hundred thousand dollars for stopping Burr.\* This charge seems improbable, and it seems equally improbable that during the persecution of the General in 1810, no knowledge of so strange an act, and one of so public a nature, should have been reached by his enemies. As it was not brought forward till 1836, eleven years after his death, no opportunity has occurred for explaining or disproving it, but it ought not to weigh against his memory until further evidence is offered in its support.†

On the 27th of January, 1807, Governor Hull, of Michigan Territory, had been authorized by the federal government, to enter into a treaty with the north-western Indians, for the lands upon the eastern side of the Peninsula, and for those west of the Connecticut Reserve, as far as the Auglaise. The directions then given having been repeated in September, a council was held at Detroit, and a treaty made November 17th, with the Ottawas, Chippeways, Wyandots and Pottawatomies, by which the country from the Maumee to Saginaw Bay, on the eastern side of Michigan, was transferred, with certain reservations, to the United States.‡

Congress confirmed the old French claims to land in the west, during this year.

A stockade was built round the new town of Detroit.§

\*See his deposition, *American State Papers*, xx. 560.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*, ii. 332.

†*Davis*, ii. 400.

‡*American State Papers*, v. 745, 747, 748.

§*Lauman*, 132, 133.





## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE INDIAN WAR OF 1811.

Expeditions of Lieutenant Z. M. Pike.—Movements of Tecumthe and the Prophet.—Organization of Indiana Territory.—British Intrigue and Influence with the Indians.—Conference at Vincennes.—Fort Harrison built.—Battle of Tippecanoe.—Earthquakes at New Madrid.—First Western Steam-boat.

[It is here necessary to take a brief retrospect of some of the years passed over in the preceding chapter. The district of country comprised in the Territories of Indiana and Upper Louisiana, for a number of years after their organization, was too remote, too much exposed to Indian depredations, and too destitute of the comforts of civilized life, to attract many emigrants.

Mr. Monette says:—

Lands equally good, and much more secure from danger were more convenient. Hence the settlements on the Wabash, on the Illinois, on the Upper Mississippi; and near the Detroit river, increased in numbers slowly. The Indians still lingered around their houses and familiar hunting grounds, as if reluctant to abandon the scenes of their youth and the graves of their ancestors, although they had received the stipulated payment, and had consented to retire from them.\*

Mr. Lanman says of Detroit and Michigan, 1807:—

Enterprise had not then pushed its energies so far into the wilderness as in modern times, and capital floated along the shores of the eastern States. In fact a great portion of that uncultivated tract of country, which constitutes the splendid scenery of western New York, adorned, as it now is, with large cities and villages, and intersected by rail-roads and canals, was a dense forest. The principal business of the settlements in Michigan was the fur trade; and the wilderness around, instead of revealing its treasures to the substantial labor of agriculture, was preserved a waste, for the propagation of wild game, and the fur-bearing animals.

No permanent settlements of any considerable importance had been made throughout this section of the country, besides those at Detroit, Michillimackinac, a small establishment at St. Mary's river, Fox river of Green Bay, Prairie du Chein, and certain trading posts of eastern companies, some of which

\* Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 523.



are now in ruins. "Grim-visaged war had smoothed her wrinkled front;" and the country which had been for so long a period drenched in blood, now shone out in the mild but glorious light of peace.\*

Amongst the occurrences of 1805, 1806 and 1807, are the expeditions of Lieutenant Z. M. Pike; the first to the sources of the Mississippi, and the second to the sources of the Arkansas, Kansas, Platte, and Pierre Jaune rivers, and into the provinces of New Spain. These expeditions were conducted under the order of Government, through General James Wilkinson. The journals kept by Lieutenant Pike, (as his official title then was) were by him prepared for the press, and issued in octavo volume, with an atlas of maps and charts, in Philadelphia, 1810. From this volume we give the following brief abstract:

The party, consisting of Major Pike, "with one servant, two corporals and seventeen privates, in a keel boat, seventy feet long, provisioned for four months," left the encampment, near St. Louis, on the 9th of August, 1805. On the 1st of September they reached Dubuque, where the Spanish trader M. Dubuque then resided. The party reached Prairie du Chein on the 4th. From the Appendix to part first, (p. 46,) we make the following extract:—

The present village of Prairie du Chein, was first settled in the year 1783, and the first settlers were M. Girard, M. Antaya, and M. Dubuque. The old village is about a mile below the present one, and had existed during the time the French were possessed of the country. It derives its name from a family of Reynards [Fox Indians] who formerly lived there, distinguished by the appellation of Dogs. The present village was settled under the English Government, and the ground was purchased from the Reynard Indians.

There are eight houses scattered round the country, at the distance of one, two, three, and five miles.

On the west side of the Mississippi are three houses, situated on a small stream called the Giard's river, making, in the village and vicinity, thirty-seven houses, which it will not be too much to calculate ten persons each; making the population three hundred and seventy souls. But this estimate will not answer for the spring and autumn, as there are then, at least five or six hundred white persons. This is owing to the concourse of traders and their engagees from Michillimackinac and other parts, who make this their last stage, previous to their launching into the savage wilderness. They again

\* *History of Michigan*, 183.



meet here in the spring, on their return from their wintering grounds, accompanied by three or four hundred Indians, when they hold a *fair*; the one [party] disposes of remnants of goods, and the other reserved peltries.

It is astonishing there are not more murders and affrays at this place, as there meet such a heterogeneous mass to trade; the use of spirituous liquors being in no manner restricted — But since the American Government has become known, such accidents are much less frequent than formerly.

\* \* \* \* \*

There are a few gentlemen residing at the Prairie du Cheins, and many others claiming that appellation; but the rivalry of the Indian trade, occasions them to be guilty of acts at their wintering grounds, which they would blush to be guilty of in the civilized world. They possess the spirit of generosity and hospitality in an eminent degree; but this is the leading feature in the character of frontier inhabitants. Their mode of living had obliged them to have transient connection with the Indian women; and what was at first *policy* is now so confirmed by habit and inclination, that it has become (with a few exceptions) the ruling practice of all the traders; and, in fact, almost half of the inhabitants under twenty years, have the blood of the aborigines in their veins.

The party reached the St. Peters on the 22d of September. Here a council was held with the Sioux Indians, and a tract of land purchased, of about one hundred thousand acres, for a military post. This eventually provided for the military post of St. Peters. Peace was also negotiated between the Sioux and Chippeways, who had been at war for many years. At the foot of the Falls of St. Anthony the boats were unloaded, and with great difficulty and labor raised above the falls and again launched and reloaded.

On the 16th of October, they met a snow storm, and soon after, found they could not get their boats up the rapids before them. They were now two hundred and thirty-three miles above the falls of St. Anthony. Several of the men were sick, and one broke a blood-vessel, and was in a dangerous state. The snow continuing to fall, they constructed log houses, excavated canoes, and provided a supply of provisions by hunting. Here the sick and a few other men of the party were left, while Major Pike, and the rest of the party, attempted to proceed up the river in canoes. The attempt having failed, and the river being frozen, sleds were constructed on which the baggage was transported, partly on the ice, and partly on the land. After sustaining various privations



and experiencing no small degree of difficulty in this inhospitable wintry region, Major Pike and his little party, with one or two British traders, reached Red Lake, then supposed to be the head of the Mississippi, about the middle of February, 1806. At Lake Winipeg, fifteen miles below, was a British trading post, and the flag of that nation flying from the fort. The North-western company then had their posts in all this wild region.

On the 28th of February, the party set out on their homeward march, but were detained on the route by ice, and holding "talks" with bands of Indians, so that they did not reach the Falls of St. Anthony until the 10th of April. At the mouth of the St. Peters, another council was held with the Sioux and Sauteurs; a branch of the Chippeways.

After holding conferences with several bands of Indians at Prairie du Chein, and other places, Major Pike and his party reached St. Louis, on the 30th of April, after an absence of eight months and twenty-two days. This was the first exploration ever made of the Upper Mississippi, by authority of the United States. The objects of the expedition were accomplished, in the selection of positions for military posts, in making peace among hostile Indian nations, and in tracing the Mississippi to its source.

The second expedition had for its primary object, the protection and "safe delivery" of a deputation of Osages and some captives, to the town of the Grand Osage nation. The next was, to promote peace and a good understanding between the Kansas\* and Osage nations, and the Yanctons, Teton and Camanches. The exploration of the country on the head waters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers, would follow the effort to negotiate with the Camanches.

The party consisted of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates and one interpreter. Under their charge were several chiefs of the Osages and Pawnees, who, with a number of women and children, had been to Washington city. These Indians had been redeemed from captivity from among the Pottawatomies. The whole number of Indians amounted to fifty-one.

The party left Belle Fontaine, near the mouth of the Missouri, on the 15th of July, 1806. In the company was Dr.

\*This is pronounced *Kauzau*, and by abbreviation, *Kaw* nation.





John H. Robinson, a volunteer, and a gentleman of scientific attainments; a Mr. Henry, from New Jersey, also a volunteer, who spoke French, and a little Spanish, and lieutenant James Wilkinson, son of General Wilkinson. The Indians generally walked on the land. On the 28th of July they arrived at the mouth of the Osage river, and proceeded up that stream, to the village of the Grand Osages, which they reached on the 19th of August. Having provided horses, the party set off by land on the 1st of September for the heads of the Arkansas, holding councils with the various tribes of Indians through which they passed. They learned that troops from Mexico had visited the Pawnee villages.

At that period there was an old trace, known as the "Spanish trace," made in 1720, by a party who left Santa Fe, to exterminate the Missouries.

Lieutenant Pike and his party, after much search, could not find this trace, but reached the Arkansas on the 18th of October. They found the water only twenty feet wide and six inches deep, though from bank to bank was two hundred and fifty yards. Here lieutenant Wilkinson constructed canoes with pieces of wood and buffaloe hides, and with three soldiers and an Osage, descended the river to the Mississippi, and from thence to New Orleans.

Lieutenant Pike and his party proceeded onward up the Arkansas until they got entangled in the range of mountains and in the depth of a severe winter. Here they wandered, half frozen and half starved, until the first week in February, when, getting into a grove of timber in a sheltered spot, they proceeded to erect a stockade as a protection from the Indians.

Dr. Robinson having received claims against a certain person in Mexico, parted from the expedition and attempted to find his way alone to Santa Fe. This claim of the Doctor was merely a *ruse* to gain information of the country and the intentions of the Mexican Spaniards. The claim was this. In the year 1804, William Morrison, Esq., an enterprising merchant of Kaskaskia, sent Baptiste La Lande, a Creole, up the Missouri and Platte rivers, and directed him, if possible, to push into Santa Fe. He sent in some Indians, and the Spaniards came out with horses and carried him and his



goods into the province. Finding he could sell his goods at a high price, and having land and a wife offered him, he concluded to expatriate himself and convert the property of Mr. Morrison to his own benefit. Mr. M., supposing Lieutenant Pike might meet with some Spanish factor on his route, entrusted him with his claim, with orders to collect it. Pike made this claim a pretext for the visit of Dr. Robinson to Santa Fe, while the real object was to gain knowledge of the country and people.\*

On the 16th of February, Lieutenant Pike, while out on a hunting excursion with one man, was discovered by a Spanish dragoon and a Mexican Indian, who were sent out as spies. After a friendly interview they left, and by the 26th instant returned with one hundred officers and soldiers, who took the party prisoners. Unfortunately, being ignorant of the geography of the country, and having no guide, Lieutenant Pike was on the Rio del Norte instead of the Red river, as he supposed. He was in Mexico instead of the United States.

After undergoing an examination before the Governor of Santa Fe, whose name was Allencaster, Lieut. Pike with his comrades were allowed to retain their arms, but were marched through Albuquerque, St. Fernandez, El Paso, to Chihuahua, where he underwent another examination before Governor Salcedo. After various embarrassments, accompanied by Dr. Robinson, he had leave to depart, by Monclova to San Antonio in Texas.

The party commenced the march on the last of April and reached San Antonio, in Texas, where they arrived on the 7th of June. Here they tarried one week, and proceeding through Texas reached Nachitoches on the first day of July, 1807.

This expedition, unfortunate as it was to Lieutenant Pike, brought to the knowledge of the United States, the plains of the Arkansas, and the Mexican region, a large part of which now belongs to the United States.

During the year 1808, Tecumthe and the Prophet continued quietly to extend their influence, professing no other end than a reformation of the Indians. Before the month of June they had removed from Greenville to the banks of the Tippecanoe.,

\* Pike's Expedition, p. 195. Note.



a tributary of the Upper Wabash, where a tract of land had been granted them by the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos. In July the Prophet sent to General Harrison a messenger begging him not to believe the tales told by his enemies, and promising a visit: in August, accordingly, he spent two weeks at Vincennes, and by his words and promises led the Governor to change very much his previous opinion, and to think his influence might be beneficial rather than mischievous.\*

[To explain more fully the designs of this Chieftain, we quote from Brown's History of Illinois.]

Tecumthe entered upon the great work he had long contemplated, in the year 1805 or 1806. He was then about thirty-eight years of age. To unite the several Indian tribes, many of which were hostile to, and had often been at war with each other, in this great and important undertaking, prejudices were to be overcome, their original manners and customs to be re-established, the use of ardent spirits to be abandoned, and all intercourse with the whites to be suspended. The task was herculean in its character, and beset with difficulties on every side. Here was a field for the display of the highest moral and intellectual powers. He had already gained the reputation of a brave and sagacious warrior, and a cool-headed, upright, wise, and efficient counsellor. He was neither a war nor a peace chief, and yet he wielded the power and influence of both. The time having now arrived for action, and knowing full well, that to win savage attention, some bold and striking movement was necessary, he imparted his plan to his brother, the Prophet, who adroitly and without a moment's delay, prepared himself for the part he was appointed to play in this great drama of savage life. Tecumthe well knew that excessive superstition was everywhere a prominent trait in the Indian character; and therefore, with the skill of another Cromwell, brought superstition to his aid.

Suddenly, his brother began to dream dreams, and see visions; he became afterward an inspired prophet, favored with a divine commission from the Great Spirit—the power of life and death was placed in his hands—he was appointed agent for preserving the property and lands of the Indians, and for restoring them to their original happy condition. He thereupon commenced his sacred work. The public mind was aroused, unbelief gradually gave way; credulity and wild fanaticism began to spread its circles, widening and deepening, until the fame of the prophet and the divine char-



acter of his mission had reached the frozen shores of the lakes, and overran the broad planes which stretched far beyond "the great Father of Waters." Pilgrims from remote tribes, sought with fear and trembling the head-quarters of the prophet and the sage. Proselytes were multiplied, and his followers increased beyond all former example. Even Tecumthe became a believer, and seizing upon the golden opportunity, he mingled with the pilgrims, won them by his address, and on their return sent a knowledge of his plan of concert and union to the most distant tribes.

The bodily and mental labors of Tecumthe next commenced. His life became one of ceaseless activity. He travelled, he argued, he commanded. His persuasive voice was one day listened to by the Wyandots, on the plains of Sandusky; on the next, his commands were issued on the banks of the Wabash. He was anon seen paddling his canoe across the Mississippi, then boldly confronting the Governor of Indiana, in the council-house at Vincennes. Now carrying his banner of union among the Creeks and Cherokees of the South, and from thence to the cold and inhospitable regions of the north, neither intoxicated by success, nor discouraged by failure.

The year 1808, made a change in the Presidency of the United States, though not in political measures. Mr. Jefferson, who had administered the affairs of the country with pre-eminent success through two terms, and who was generally popular throughout the west, retired to private life, and Mr. Madison became his successor in March, 1809.

In order that the general reader may have a full understanding of the series of events that led to the war with Great Britain, (the subject of our next chapter) we give the following preliminary facts.

England and France, and indeed most of the European governments, had been in a state of hostility for some years. Napoleon had introduced and carried into effect what has been called the "*Continental System*." This was designed to exclude England from all intercourse with the continent of Europe. All importation of English manufactures and produce was prohibited. This system involved the rights of neutral powers, and both England and France commenced depredations on the commerce of the United States.

In November, 1806, Napoleon issued the famous decree of Berlin, by which the British Islands were declared to be in a state of blockade. Immediately England directed reprisals





against the Berlin decree, and issued her "Orders in Council" in 1807. Every neutral vessel with its cargo was confiscated which violated these orders. England also claimed the right to search all neutral vessels, in order to execute the orders in Council. With this odious practice was connected the "right of search" on neutral vessels, for British seamen, and all were claimed as such, who could not show official papers of their birth, and regular shipment under a neutral government. Hundreds of naturalized citizens and even native born Americans were thus taken under our flag and impressed on board of British ships of war. These "orders" were followed on the part of France by the decree of Milan, December, 1807, and a more aggravated one of the Tuilleries, in January, 1808.

These decrees denationalized and confiscated every neutral vessel, which had been searched by an English ship. These difficulties with England were greatly increased by the wanton attack on the frigate *Chesapeake* in the waters of the United States. This produced a call upon the militia of the United States.

The Imperial decrees of France, and the aggressions of Great Britain, induced Congress, by recommendation of the President, to lay an embargo prohibiting the exportation of all articles from the United States, in December, 1807. This measure met with so much opposition that it was repealed in 1809, and at the same time all trade and intercourse with France and England was prohibited by an act of Congress.\*

During the same period, British officers and traders were encouraging the Indians to contend for their rights, by instilling into their minds the notion that they had sovereignty over all the country not ceded by the treaty of Greenville. These lessons were relished by Tecumthe and his brother, the Prophet. In reference to the hostilities of 1811, but which had existed in feelings and plans at an early period, Mr. Laman† says:—

"The basis of these hostilities was the fact that Elshwatawa the Prophet, who pretended to certain supernatural powers, had formed a league with Tecumthe, to stir up the jeal-

\* See *Encyclopædia Americana*, articles, "Continental System," vol. iii. 499; and "United States' History," vol. xii. 419. *Butler's Kentucky*, 327.

† *History of Michigan*, 184.



ousy of the Indians against the United States. It seems that this was an act of pre-concert on the part of these brothers, in order to produce a general confederacy of Indians against the United States. Mutual complaints were urged on both sides. It was maintained by Governor Harrison that the Indians had endeavored to excite insurrection against the Americans, had depredated upon their property, and murdered their citizens; and that they were, moreover, in league with the British. He ordered them, therefore, to return to their respective tribes, and to yield up the property which they had stolen, and also the murderers. Tecumthe, in answer, denied the league. He alleged that his only design, and that of his brother, was to strengthen the amity between the different tribes of Indians, and to improve their moral condition. In answer to Governor Harrison's demand for the murderers of the whites who had taken refuge among their tribes, he denied that they were there; and secondly, that if they were there, it was not right to punish them, and that they ought to be forgiven, as he had forgiven those who had murdered his people in Illinois. The Indians, comprised of seceders from the various tribes, were incited by the conviction that their domain was encroached upon by the Americans; that they were themselves superior to the white men; and that the Great Spirit had directed them to make one mighty struggle in throwing off the dominion of the United States. British influence, which had before exerted its agency in the previous Indian war, was active on the American side of the Detroit River; and it must be admitted that it had strong ground of action. An ardent correspondence had for some time existed regarding the conduct of the savages, and powerful efforts were made to dissuade them from advancing in their projects. In a speech which was sent to Tecumthe and his brother, complaining of injuries which had been committed by the Indians, and demanding redress, Gov. Harrison, who then resided at Vincennes, remarks, "Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife fire; as soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of "hunting-shirt men," as numerous as the musquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings."

On the 25th of November, Governor Hull met at Brownstown the Chippeways, Ottowas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, and Shawanese, and obtained from them a grant of a strip of land connecting the Maumee with the Western Reserve, and another strip connecting Lower Sandusky with the country south of the line agreed upon in 1795. These strips were to be used for roads.\*

[The white settlements in Upper Louisiana, in the begin-

\* American State Papers, v. 727.



ning of 1808, had not extended much beyond the boundaries claimed by the Spanish authorities in virtue of former treaties with native tribes.

On the 10th of November of that year, a grand council of the nation of Osages was held at Fort Clark, on the right bank of the Missouri river, where a treaty was made in which the Osages relinquish their claims to all their lands between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, as far west as a line drawn from Fort Clark due South to the Arkansas. This treaty threw open the territory to settlements to this boundary.

From 1804 to 1809, there was considerable emigration to the territory, especially into the counties of Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles. Even as early as 1794, a German Colony was commenced in the interior of this county. Their descendants are among some of the first class of farmers in Missouri.]

Throughout the year 1809, we find Tecumthe and his brother strengthening themselves both openly and secretly. Governor Harrison, however, had been once more led to suspect their ultimate designs, and was preparing to meet an emergency whenever it might arise. The probability of its being at hand was very greatly increased by the news received from the Upper Mississippi of hostile movements there among the savages. In reference to these movements and the position of the Shawanese brothers, Governor Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War on the 5th of July as follows:

The Shawanese prophet and about 40 followers arrived here about a week ago. He denies most strenuously any participation in the late combination to attack our settlements, which he says was entirely confined to the tribes of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers; and he claims the merit of having prevailed upon them to relinquish their intentions.

I must confess that my suspicions of his guilt have been rather strengthened than diminished at every interview I have had with him since his arrival. He acknowledged that he received an invitation to war against us, from the British, last fall, and that he was apprised of the intention of the Sacs, Foxes, &c., early in the spring, and warmly solicited to join in their league. But he could give no satisfactory explanation of his neglecting to communicate to me circumstances so extremely interesting to us, and towards which, I had a few months before directed his attention, and received a solemn



assurance of his cheerful compliance with the injunctions I had impressed upon him.

The result of all my inquiries on the subject, is, that the late combination was produced by British intrigue and influence, in anticipation of war between them and the United States. It was, however, premature and ill-judged, and the event sufficiently manifests a great decline in their influence, or in the talents and address, with which they have been accustomed to manage their Indian relations.

The warlike and well armed tribes of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares and Miamis, I believe neither had, nor would have joined in the combination; and although the Kickapoos, whose warriors are better than those of any other tribe, the remnant of the Wyandot excepted, are much under the influence of the prophet, I am persuaded that they were never made acquainted with their intentions, if these were really hostile to the United States.\*

In this same letter the Governor, at the request of the Secretary, Dr. Eustis, gives his views of the defence of the frontiers, in which portion of his epistle many valuable hints are given in relation to the course proper to be pursued in case of a war with England.

In September, October and December, the Governor of Indiana succeeded in extinguishing the claims of the Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, Eel river Indians, Weas, and Kickapoos, to certain lands upon the Wabash which had not yet been purchased, and which were believed to contain copper ore†

The treaties with the Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, and Eel river Indians, were made at Fort Wayne; the others at Vincennes; they were protested against by Tecumthe in the following year.

On the 17th of February the Legislature of Ohio passed the charter of the Miami University. With regard to this institution, a question at once arose, whether it should be within Symmes' Purchase, as it had been originally intended it should be, and as the charter required; or placed upon the lands with which it was endowed,—which lands it had been found necessary to select out of the Purchase, as has been already related. The Legislature decided that the University

\*Dawson, 130.

†American State Papers, v. 760, to 763. Dawson, 135 to 137.





should be upon the lands which had been appropriated to its support in the township of Oxford, and there accordingly it was placed. ‡

[One of the events of 1809, which claims special notice, was the organization of the Territory of Illinois.

The people of Illinois, as has happened to others more recently, at several periods were left without a regularly constituted government. Originally it was a portion of ancient Louisiana, under the French monarchy. By the treaty of France with Great Britain in 1763, all Canada, including the Illinois country, was ceded to the latter power.

But British authority and laws did not reach Illinois until 1765, when Captain Sterling, in the name, and by the authority of the British crown, established the provisional government at Fort Chartres.

In 1766, the "Quebec Bill," as it was called, passed the British Parliament, which placed Illinois and the North-western territory under the local administration of Canada.

The conquest of the country by General Clark in 1778, brought it under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and in the month of October the Legislature of that State organized the county of Illinois.

The cession of the country to the Continental Congress was made in 1784, and the ordinance to organize the North-western Territory, which provided for a Territorial Government, was not passed until 1787, and the Governor and Judges who exercised, in one body, Legislative and Judicial authority, did not go into operation until July, 1788. Still the Illinois country remained without any organized government till March, 1790, when Governor St. Clair organized the county that bears his name. Hence, for more than six years at one period, and for a shorter time at other periods, there was no Executive, Legislative, and Judicial authority in the country. The people were a "law unto themselves," and good feelings, harmony and fidelity to engagements predominated.

From 1800 they had been a part of the territory of Indiana. In all the territories at that period, there were two grades of Territorial Government. The first was that of Governor and Judges. These constituted the law-making power. Such

‡ *Burnett's Letters*, 155, 156.—*American Pioneer*, i. 269.



was the organization of Illinois in 1809. The next grade was a Territorial Legislature; the people electing the House of Representatives, and the President and Senate appointing the Council.

By an act of Congress of February 3d, 1809, all that part of Indiana Territory which lies west of the Wabash river, and a direct line drawn from that river and Post Vincennes, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, was constituted into a separate Territory, by the name of Illinois; and the first grade of Territorial Government was established.

Hon. Ninian Edwards, then Chief Justice of Kentucky, was appointed Governor, and Nathaniel Pope, Esq., then a resident of Kaskaskia, Secretary of the Territory.

Early in March, as the acting Governor, Judge Pope organized the Territory. Governor Edwards arrived from Kentucky and entered the Executive department in the month of June. As we have much to bring up in the Annals of Illinois, we shall defer details for the Appendix.

The hostile intentions of Tecumthe and his followers towards the United States, were placed beyond a doubt in 1810. The exciting causes were—the purchase at Fort Wayne in 1809, which the Shawanese denounced as illegal and unjust; and British influence. And here, as in 1790 to 1795, it is almost impossible to learn what really was the amount of British influence, and whence it proceeded; whether from the agents merely, or from higher authority. On the one hand we have many assertions like the following:—

Fort Wayne, August 7, 1818.

Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred men of the Saukies have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with every thing they stood in want of. The party received 47 rifles, and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

JOHN JOHNSTON, Indian Agent.

Vincennes, September, 17, 1811.

—— states that almost every Indian from the country above this had been, or were then gone to Malden, on a visit



to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If, then, the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages.

—— succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel rivers, for they are all Miamies,) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet and the United States. Lapousier, the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by —— what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood; whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty or not, but he would give no answer!

—— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British agents at Malden. He had never known one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians, as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief,) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, 3 blankets, 3 strouds of cloth, 10 shirts and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the King's stores at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by 20,000 pounds sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade; for all the peltry collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians.\*

On the other hand we know that Sir James Craig, the Governor of Canada, wrote on the 25th of November, 1810, to Mr. Morier, the British Minister at Washington, authorizing him to inform the United States Government that the northern savages were meditating hostilities:† we know also that in the following March, Sir James wrote to Lord Liverpool in relation to the Indians, and spoke of the information he had given the Americans, and that his conduct was approv-

\* American State Papers, v. 799, 801 to 804.

† American State Papers, iii. 453.—Gaston in Congress; quoted by Dawson, 175.



ed;\* we have farther the repeated denial by the English Minister at Washington, of any influence having been exerted over the frontier tribes adverse to the States, by the authority, or with the knowledge of the English Ministry or the Governor of Canada.† These things, we think, must lead us to acquit the *rulers* of Great Britain, but they do not show who, nor how high in authority the functionaries were who tried, as Tecumthe told Harrison, to set the red men, as dogs, upon the whites.

But, however we may think the evil influence originated, certain it is that the determination was taken by "the successor of Pontiac," to unite all the western tribes in hostility to the United States, in case that power would not give up the lands bought at Fort Wayne, and undertake to recognize the principle, that no purchases should be thereafter made unless from a Council representing all the tribes united as one nation. By various acts the feelings of Tecumthe became more and more evident, but in August, he having visited Vincennes to see the Governor, a Council was held at which, and at a subsequent interview, the real position of affairs was clearly ascertained—of that Council we give the account contained in Mr. Drake's life of the Great Chieftain.

Governor Harrison had made arrangements for holding the Council on the portico of his own house, which had been fitted up with seats for the occasion. Here, on the morning of the fifteenth, he awaited the arrival of the chief, being attended by the judges of the Supreme Court, some officers of the army, a sergeant and twelve men, from Fort Knox, and a large number of citizens. At the appointed hour Tecumthe, supported by forty of his principal warriors, made his appearance, the remainder of his followers being encamped in the village and its environs. When the chief had approached within thirty or forty yards of the house, he suddenly stopped, as if awaiting some advances from the Governor. An interpreter was sent requesting him and his followers to take seats on the portico. To this Tecumthe objected—he did not think the place a suitable one for holding the conference, but preferred that it should take place in a grove of trees—to which he pointed—standing a short distance from the house. The Governor said he had no objection to the grove, except that there were no seats in it for their accommodation. Tecumthe replied, that constituted no objection to the grove, the earth being the most suitable place for the Indians, who lov-

\*American State Papers, ii. 462.

†American State Papers, 453, iii. 453, 462.





ed to repose upon the bosom of their mother. The governor yielded the point, and the benches and chairs having been removed to the spot, the conference was begun, the Indians being seated on the grass.

Tecumthe opened the meeting by stating, at length, his objections to the treaty of Fort Wayne, made by Governor Harrison in the previous year; and in the course of his speech, boldly avowed the principle of his party to be, that of resistance to every cession of land, unless made by all the tribes, who, he contended, formed but one nation. He admitted that he had threatened to kill the chiefs who signed the treaty of Fort Wayne; and that it was his fixed determination not to permit the village chiefs, in future, to manage their affairs, but to place the power with which they had been heretofore invested, in the hands of the war chiefs. The Americans, he said, had driven the Indians from the sea coast, and would soon push them into the lakes; and, while he disclaimed all intention of making war upon the United States, he declared it to be his unalterable resolution to take a stand, and resolutely oppose the further intrusion of the whites upon the Indian lands. He concluded, by making a brief but impassioned recital of the various wrongs and aggressions inflicted by the white men upon the Indians, from the commencement of the revolutionary war down to the period of that Council; all of which was calculated to arouse and inflame the minds of such of his followers as were present.

To him the Governor replied, and having taken his seat, the interpreter commenced explaining the speech to Tecumthe, who, after listening to a portion of it, sprung to his feet and began to speak with great vehemence of manner.

The Governor was surprised at his violent gestures, but as he did not understand him, thought he was making some explanation, and suffered his attention to be drawn towards Winnemac, a friendly Indian lying on the grass before him, who was renewing the priming of his pistol, which he had kept concealed from the other Indians, but in full view of the Governor. His attention, however, was again directed towards Tecumthe, by hearing General Gibson, who was intimately acquainted with the Shawanee language, say to Lieutenant Jennings, "those fellows intend mischief; you had better bring up the guard." At that moment, the followers of Tecumthe seized their tomahawks and war clubs, and sprung upon their feet, their eyes turned upon the Governor. As soon as he could disengage himself from the arm chair in which he sat, he rose, drew a small sword which he had by his side, and stood on the defensive. Captain G. R. Floyd, of the army, who stood near him, drew a dirk, and the chief Winnemac cocked his pistol. The citizens present were more numerous than the Indians, but were unarmed; some of them



procured clubs and brick-bats, and also stood on the defensive. The Rev. Mr. Winans, of the Methodist church, ran to the Governor's house, got a gun, and posted himself at the door to defend the family. During this singular scene, no one spoke, until the guard came running up, and appearing to be in the act of firing, the Governor ordered them not to do so. He then demanded of the interpreter, an explanation of what had happened, who replied that Tecumthe had interrupted him, declaring that all the Governor had said was false; and that he and the Seventeen Fires had cheated and imposed on the Indians.

The Governor then told Tecumthe that he was a bad man, and that he would hold no further communication with him; that as he had come to Vincennes under the protection of a Council-fire, he might return in safety, but that he must immediately leave the village. Here the Council terminated.

The now undoubted purposes of the Brothers being of a character necessarily leading to war, Governor Harrison proceeded to strengthen himself for the contest by preparing the militia, and posting the regular troops that were with him, under Captains Posey and Cross, at Vincennes\*.

Messengers were sent out as proposed, and deputations from the natives followed, promising peace and compliance, but the Governor, having received his reinforcements, commenced his proposed progress. On the 5th of Oct. he was on the Wabash, sixty or sixty-five miles above Vincennes, at which point he built "Fort Harrison." Here one of his sentinels was fired upon, and news were received from the friendly Delawares which made the hostile purposes of the Prophet plain. The Governor then determined to move directly upon Tippecanoe, still offering peace, however. Upon the 31st of October he was near the mouth of the Vermillion river, where he built a block-house for the protection of his boats, and a place of deposite for his heavy baggage; from that point he advanced without interruption into the immediate vicinity of the Prophet's town, where he was met by ambassadors; he told them he had no hostile intentions in case the Indians were true to existing treaties, and made preparations to encamp.†

In a few moments the man who had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the

\* Dawson's Historical Narrative, 139, 160, 170, 173.—Drake's Life of Tecumthe, 125.

† Dawson, 192, 199, and 203. American State Papers, v. 776.



present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water; he informed me that there was a creek to the northwest which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately despatched two officers to examine it, and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief, and a mutual promise was again made for a suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it—it was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops, that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front (towards the Indian town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and brushwood. Towards the left flank this bench of high land widened considerably, but became gradually narrow in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank, terminated in an abrupt point. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance on the right flank—these flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Major-General Wells, of the Kentucky militia, who served as a Major; the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen, which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one battalion of United States' infantry under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States' troops under the command of Capt. Bean, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Decker. The regular troops of this line joined the mounted riflemen under General Wells on the left flank, and Col. Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

Two troops of dragoons, amounting to, in the aggregate, about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and Capt. Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my troops, I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file—because in Indian warfare where there is no



shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare the extension of line is of the first importance. Raw troops also manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent every evening by single, to give them the watchword and their instructions for the night—those given for the night of the 6th were, that each troop which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment, should hold its own ground until relieved. The dragoons were ordered to parade in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captains' guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and forty-two privates; and two subalterns' guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day. The troops were regularly called up an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th, I had risen at a quarter after four o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a signal gun was fired by the sentinels or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Capt. Barton's company of the 4th U. S. regiment, and Capt. Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was exceedingly severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy; our fires afforded a partial light, which, if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim; they were therefore extinguished. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (19-20ths of whom never had been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in the same situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I





rode to the angle that was attacked—I found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company and the late Capt. Wentworth's, under Lieut. Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States' riflemen (then, however, armed with muskets) and the companies of Bean, Snelling, and Prescott of the 4th regiment. I found Major Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the Major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were, however, immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by Capt. Snelling, at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe: Capt. Spencer and his first and second lieutenants, were killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies, however, still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank, towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States' regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until daylight, which should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view, I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line, Snelling's, Posey's (under Lieut. Albright,) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time, I ordered Cook's and Bean's companies, the former from the rear, and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Maj. Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing



my intentions precisely, had taken command of these companies, had charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry ; a small detachment of these were, however, ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry, at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Capt. Cook and Lieut. Larabee had, agreeable to my order, marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it till it was too late.

I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action, which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance, by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool, and deliberate valor, which is characteristic of the Christian soldier.\*

The Americans in this battle had not more than 700 efficient men,—non-commissioned officers and privates ; the Indians are believed to have had 700 or 1000 warriors. The loss of the American army was 37 killed on the field, 25 mortally wounded, and 126 wounded ; that of the Indians about forty killed on the spot, the number of wounded being unknown.

Governor Harrison, although very generally popular, had enemies, and after the battle of Tippecanoe they denounced him, 1st, for suffering the Indians to point out his camping ground ; 2d, for allowing himself to be surprised by his enemy ; and 3d, because he sacrificed either Daviess or Owen, (accounts differed) by placing one or the other on a favorite white horse of his own, which caused the savages to make the rider an especial mark. To these charges elaborate replies have been made : we cannot do more than say, to the 1st, that although as Harrison relates, the Indians pointed out the creek upon which was the site of his encampment, his own officers found, examined, and approved that particular site, and other military men have since approved their selection ; to the 2d, the only reply needed is, that the facts were

\*American State Papers, v. 777, 778.



just as stated in the dispatch we have quoted; and to the 3d, that Daviess was killed on foot, and Owen on a horse not General Harrison's: the last story probably arose from the fact that Taylor, a fellow aid of Owen, was mounted on a horse of the Governor's; but Taylor was not killed, though the horse he rode was.

The battle of Tippecanoe was fought upon the 7th of November, and upon the 4th of the following month Harrison writes that the frontiers never enjoyed more perfect repose; though it seems to be clear that the disposition to do mischief was by no means extinguished among the savages.\*

During this year two events took place, beside the battle of Tippecanoe, which make it especially noticeable in the history of the West; the one was, the building of the steamer New Orleans, the first boat built beyond the Alleghanies; the other was the series of Earthquakes which destroyed New Madrid, and affected the whole valley. Of the latter event, we give the following description from the pen of Dr. Hildreth.†

The centre of its violence was thought to be near the Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid; the vibrations from which were felt all over the valley of the Ohio, as high up as Pittsburgh. The first shock was felt in the night of the 16th of December, 1811, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence, into February following. New Madrid, having suffered more than any other town on the Mississippi from its effects, was considered as situated near the focus from whence the undulations proceeded.

From an eye-witness, who was then about forty miles below that town, in a flat boat, on his way to New Orleans with a load of produce, and who narrated the scene to me, the agitation which convulsed the earth and the waters of the mighty Mississippi filled every living creature with horror. The first shock took place in the night, while the boat was lying at the shore in company with several others. At this period there was danger apprehended from the southern Indians, it being soon after the battle of Tippecanoe, and for safety several boats kept in company, for mutual defence in case of an attack. In the middle of the night there was a terrible shock and jarring of the boats, so that the crews

\* Dawson. 204 to 208.—McAffee's History of the War., 18 to 38.—Todd and Drake's account, 34 to 37.—Cist's Miscellany, ii. 298.—American State Papers, v. 779.

† In Carey's Museum for April 1789, p. 363, is an account of the Great Earthquake of 1727.—On those of 1811, see also Senator Linn's letter in Wetmore's Missouri Gazetteer, (St. Louis, 1837,) 134 to 142.—Drake's Picture of Cincinnati.—Flint's Recollections.



were all awakened and hurried on deck with their weapons of defence in their hands, thinking the Indians were rushing on board. The ducks, geese, swans, and various other aquatic birds, whose numberless flocks were quietly resting in the eddies of the river, were thrown into the greatest tumult, and with loud screams expressed their alarm in accents of terror. The noise and commotion soon became hushed, and nothing could be discovered to excite apprehension, so that the boatmen concluded that the shock was occasioned by the falling in of a large mass of the bank of the river near them. As soon as it was light enough to distinguish objects, the crews were all up making ready to depart. Directly a loud roaring and hissing was heard, like the escape of steam from a boiler, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and tremendous boiling up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, rolling the waters below back on the descending stream, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep on their feet. The sandbars and points of the islands gave way, swallowed up in the tumultuous bosom of the river; carrying down with them the cottonwood trees, cracking and crashing, tossing their arms to and fro, as if sensible of their danger, while they disappeared beneath the flood. The water of the river, which the day before was tolerably clear, being rather low, changed to a reddish hue, and became thick with mud thrown up from its bottom; while the surface, lashed violently by the agitation of the earth beneath, was covered with foam, which, gathering into masses the size of a barrel, floated along on the trembling surface. The earth on the shores opened in wide fissures, and closing again, threw the water, sand and mud, in huge jets, higher than the tops of the trees. The atmosphere was filled with a thick vapor or gas, to which the light imparted a purple tinge, altogether different in appearance from the autumnal haze of Indian summer, or that of smoke. From the temporary check to the current, by the heaving up of the bottom, the sinking of the banks and sandbars into the bed of the stream, the river rose in a few minutes five or six feet; and, impatient of the restraint, again rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats, now set loose by the horror-struck boatmen, as in less danger on the water than at the shore, where the banks threatened every moment to destroy them by the falling earth, or carry them down in the vortices of the sinking masses. Many boats were overwhelmed in this manner, and their crews perished with them. It required the utmost exertions of the men to keep the boat, of which my informant was the owner, in the middle of the river, as far from the shores, sandbars and islands as they could. Numerous boats were wrecked on the snags and old trees thrown up from the bot-





toin of the Mississippi, where they had quietly rested for ages, while others were sunk or stranded on the sandbars and islands. At New Madrid several boats were carried by the reflux of the current into a small stream that puts into the river just above the town, and left on the ground by the returning water a considerable distance from the Mississippi. A man who belonged to one of the company boats was left for several hours on the upright trunk of an old snag in the middle of the river, against which his boat was wrecked and sunk. It stood with the roots a few feet above the water, and to these he contrived to attach himself, while every fresh shock threw the agitated waves against him, and kept gradually settling the tree deeper into the mud at the bottom, bringing him nearer and nearer to the deep muddy waters, which, to his terrified imagination, seemed desirous of swallowing him up. While hanging here, calling with piteous shouts for aid, several boats passed by without being able to relieve him, until finally a skiff was well manned, rowed a short distance above him, and dropped down stream close to the snag, from which he tumbled into the boat as she floated by. The scenes which occurred for several days, during the repeated shocks, were horrible. The most destructive took place in the beginning, although they were repeated for many weeks, becoming lighter and lighter until they died away in slight vibrations, like the jarring of steam in an immense boiler. The sulphurated gases that were discharged during the shocks, tainted the air with their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river, to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below, that it could hardly be used for any purpose for a number of days. New Madrid, which stood on a bluff bank, fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, sunk so low that the next rise covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of several fine lakes in the vicinity were elevated so as to become dry land, and have since been planted with corn!\*

[To this interesting sketch by Dr. Hildreth, we append a few particulars.

In the town of Cape Girardeau, were several edifices of stone and brick. The walls of these buildings were cracked, in some instances from the ground to the top, and wide fissures were left.

The "great shake," as the people called it, was so severe in the county of St. Louis, that the fowls fell from the trees as if dead; crockery fell from the shelves and was broken,

\* *American Pioneer*, i. 129.



and many families left their cabins, from fear of being crushed beneath their ruins.

Mr. Bradbury, an English scientific explorer, was on a keel boat passing down the river at the time. On the night of the 14th they called at New Madrid for some necessary supplies. The writer says:—

“I was much disappointed in this place, as I found only a few straggling houses, situated round a plain of from two to three hundred acres in extent. There are only two stores, and those very indifferently furnished.”

On the night of the 15th, the keel boat was moored to a small Island, not far from Little Prairie, where the crew, all Frenchmen, were frightened, almost to helplessness, by the terrible convulsions.

Mr. B. says:—

“Immediately after the shock, we noticed the time, and found it near two o'clock. In half an hour another shock came on, terrible indeed, but not equal to the first.” [This shock made a chasm in the Island, four feet wide and eighty yards in length. After noticing successive shocks, the writer states:]—“I had already noticed that the sound which was heard at the time of every shock, always preceded it at least a second, and that it always proceeded from the same point, and went off in an opposite direction. I now found that the shock came from a little northward of east, and proceeded to the westward. At daylight we had counted twenty-seven shocks, during our stay on the Island.\*

Mr. B. records a series of shocks that continued daily, as he passed down the river, until the 21st of December.

The late Hon. L. F. Linn, in a letter to the Hon. Mr. Davis, Chairman of the Committee on Commerce, dated February 1st, 1836, “relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francis rivers,” has given a lucid geographical and descriptive sketch of this part of Missouri, from which we have room for a brief extract.

“The memorable earthquake of December, 1811, after shaking the valley of the Mississippi to its centre, vibrated along the courses of the rivers and valleys, and passing the primitive mountain barriers, died away along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. In the region now under consideration, during the continuance of so appalling a phenomenon, which com-

\* *Travels in the Interior of America*, by John Bradbury, pp. 199 to 207.



menced by distant rumbling sounds, succeeded by discharges as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded, the earth rocked *to and fro*, vast chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand, and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. The current of the Mississippi, pending this elemental strife, was driven back upon its source with the greatest velocity for several hours, in consequence of an elevation of its bed. But this noble river was not thus to be stayed in its course. Its accumulated waters came booming on, and, o'ertopping the barrier thus suddenly raised, carried everything before them with resistless power. Boats, then floating on its surface, shot down the declivity like an arrow from a bow, amid roaring billows and the wildest commotion. A few days' action of its powerful current sufficed to wear away every vestige of the barrier thus strangely interposed, and its waters moved on in their wonted channel to the ocean. The day that succeeded this night of terror brought no solace in its dawn. Shock followed shock; a dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land, through which no struggling sunbeam found its way to cheer the desponding heart of man, who, in silent communion with himself, was compelled to acknowledge his weakness and dependence on the everlasting God. The appearances that presented themselves after the subsidence of the principal commotion were such as strongly support an opinion heretofore advanced. Hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead; and numerous lakes became elevated ground, over the surface of which vast heaps of sand were scattered in every direction, while in many places the earth for miles was sunk below the general level of the surrounding country, without being covered with water, leaving an *impression in miniature of a catastrophe much more important in its effects, which had, perhaps, preceded it ages before*. One of the lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. It is in some places very shallow; in others from fifty to one hundred feet deep, which is much more than the depth of the Mississippi river in that quarter. In sailing over its surface in the light canoe, the voyager is struck with astonishment at beholding the giant trees of the forest standing partially exposed amid a waste of waters, branchless and leafless. But the wonder is still further increased on casting the eye on the dark-blue profound, to observe cane-brakes covering its bottom, over which a mammoth species of testudo is seen dragging his slow length along, while countless myriads of fish are sporting through the aquatic thickets.]\*

\* Wetmore's Gazetteer, p. 139, 140.



In the midst of this terrible convulsion, the first of western steamers was pursuing her way toward the south. But before we give a sketch of her progress, let us re-call to the minds of our readers the previous steps taken in regard to steam navigation.

In 1781, the invention of Watts' double-acting engine was made public ; and in 1784 it was perfected.\* Previous to this time many attempts had been made to apply steam to navigation, but, from want of a proper engine, all had been failures ; and the first efforts to apply the new machine to boats were made in America by John Fitch and James Rumsey. The conception by Fitch, if we may trust the statement made by Robert Wickliffe, was formed as early as June, 1780, anterior to the announcement of Watts' discovery of the double-acting engine, though eleven years after his single engine had been patented.

This conception Fitch said he communicated to Rumsey. The latter gentleman, however, proposed a plan so entirely different from that of his fellow countrymen, (a plan which he is said to have originated in 1782, or '83,) that we cannot think him a plagiarist. The idea of steam navigation was not new ; it was the question,—How shall we use the steam ? which was to be so answered as to immortalize the successful respondent :—and to this question Fitch replied, By using Watts' engine so as to propel a system of paddles at the sides of the boat ; while Rumsey said, By applying the old atmospheric engine to pump up water at the bow and force it out at the stern of your vessel, and so drive her by water acting upon water. Referring our readers, therefore, to the authorities quoted below, relative to Fitch and others, we must be content with saying that all failed until Fulton, in 1807, launched his vessel upon the Hudson.—Fitch's failure, however, was not from any fault in his principle, and had his knowledge of mechanics equalled Fulton's, or had his means been more ample, or had he tried his boat on the Hudson where coaches could not compete with him, as they did on the level banks of the Delaware, we cannot doubt he would have entirely succeeded twenty years before his plans were realized by another.†

\* Renwick on steam engine, 260.

† American Pioneer, i. 33 to 36. Sparks' Amer. Biography, New Series, vol. vi. 790, 104, 111, 115. Renwick on the Steam Engine, 209. 260. Sparks' Washington, ix. 68, 104, Cincinnati Directory, for 1819, p. 64. Howe's Virginia, 336 to 340. Collin's Kentucky, 479.





[In the *Columbian Magazine*, published in Philadelphia, in (we think) 1786, is a plate showing the steamboat made by Fitch with its paddles, and a description of its action on the Delaware. If John Fitch had received the patronage necessary, it is probable his boat would have been successful.]

When Fulton had at length attained, by slow degrees, success upon the Hudson, he began to look elsewhere for other fields of action, and the west, which had attracted the attention of both of his American predecessors, could not fail to catch his eye. Mr. Latrobe, who spoke as will be seen by authority, says :—

The complete success attending the experiments in steam navigation made on the Hudson and the adjoining waters previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western rivers ; and in the month of April of that year, Mr. Roosevelt of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers, with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. At this time two boats, the *North River* and the *Clermont*, were running on the Hudson. Mr. R. surveyed the rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable, it was decided to build a boat at the former town. This was done under his direction, and in the course of 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the “*New Orleans*,” and intended to ply between Natchez, in the State of Mississippi, and the city whose name it bore. In October it left Pittsburgh for its experimental voyage. On this occasion no freight or passengers were taken, the object being merely to bring the boat to her station. Mr. R., his young wife and family, Mr. Baker, the engineer, Andrew Jack, the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics, formed her whole burden. There were no wood-yards at that time, and constant delays were unavoidable. When, as related, Mr. R. had gone down the river to reconnoitre, he had discovered two beds of coal, about one hundred and twenty miles below the Rapids at Louisville, and now took tools to work them, intending to load the vessel with the coal, and to employ it as fuel, instead of constantly detaining the boat while wood was procured from the banks.



Late at night on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburgh, they arrived in safety at Louisville, having been but seventy hours descending upwards of seven hundred miles. The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity with which it made its passage over the broad reaches of the river, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached; and it is related that on the unexpected arrival of the boat before Louisville, in the course of a fine still moonlight night, the extraordinary sound which filled the air as the pent-up steam was suffered to escape from the valves, on rounding to, produced a general alarm, and multitudes in the town rose from their beds to ascertain the cause. I have heard that the general impression among the good Kentuckians was, that the comet had fallen into the Ohio; but this does not rest upon the same foundation as the other facts which I lay before you, and which I may at once say, I had directly from the lips of the parties themselves. The small depth of water in the Rapids prevented the boat from pursuing her voyage immediately; and during the consequent detention of three weeks in the upper part of the Ohio, several trips were successfully made between Louisville and Cincinnati. In fine the waters rose, and in the course of the last week in November, the voyage was resumed, the depth of water barely admitting their passage.\*

This steamer, after being nearly overwhelmed by the earthquakes, reached Natchez at the close of the first week of January, 1812.

[Mr. Bradbury, from whom we have quoted, and his traveling companion, Mr. Bridges, took their passage on the boat from Natchez to New Orleans on its first downward trip.

He states:—

“In the morning of the 6th inst., (January, 1812,) I went on board the steamboat from Pittsburgh; she had passed us at the mouth of the Arkansas, three hundred and forty-one miles above Natchez; she was a very handsome vessel, of 410 tons burden, and was impelled by a powerful engine, also made at Pittsburgh, from whence she had come in less than twenty days, although 1,900 miles distance.”†

\* *Rambler in North America*, vol. i. 87.

† *Travels in the Interior of America*, p. 203.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### BRITISH AND INDIAN WAR.

Movements of Tecumthe.—Events in the North-west preceding the War.—Declaration of War with Great Britain.—Surrender of Michigan by Governor Hull.—Operations of Governor Edwards in Illinois.—Massacre at Chicago.—Attack on Fort Harrison.—Governor Harrison appointed Commander-in-Chief of the North-western Army.—Expedition against the Illinois Indians.—Defeat at French-town.—Siege of Fort Meigs.—Gallant Defence of Fort Stevenson.—Victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie.—Battle of the Thames.—Expeditions of Captain Holmes and General McArthur.—Conclusion of the War.

[At the time of the battle of Tippecanoe, Tecumthe, the master spirit in Indian diplomacy, was amongst the southern Indians, to bring them into the grand confederacy he had projected. On his return, where he supposed he had made a strong and permanent impression, a few days after the disastrous battle, when he saw the dispersion of his followers, the disgrace of his brother, and the destruction of his long cherished hopes, he was exceedingly angry. The rash presumptuousness of the Prophet, in attacking the American army at Tippecanoe, destroyed his own power and crushed the grand confederacy before it was completed.

When Tecumthe first met the prophet, he reproached him in the bitterest terms, and when the latter attempted to palliate his conduct, he seized him by the hair, shook him violently, and threatened to take his life.\*

Tecumthe immediately sent word to Governor Harrison, that he had returned from the south, and that he was ready to visit the President as had been previously proposed. The Governor gave him permission to proceed to Washington, but not as the leader of a party of Indians, as he desired. The proud chief, who had appeared at Vincennes in 1810, with a large party of braves, had no desire to appear before his "Great Father," the President, without his retinue. The proposed visit was declined, and the intercourse between Tecumthe and the Governor terminated.

In June, he sought an interview with the Indian agent at Fort Wayne; disavowed any intention of making war on the United States, and reproached General Harrison for having marched against his people during his absence. The agent replied to this; Tecumthe listened with frigid indifference,

\* Brown's Illinois, p. 282.—Billy Caldwell's verbal statement to the editor.



and after making a few general remarks, with a haughty air, left the Council-house, and departed for Fort Malden, in Upper Canada, where he joined the British standard.†

[We have reserved a series of events pertaining to Missouri, the settlement of the Boone's Lick country, the Indian War, the Territorial Government, and sketches of St. Louis, for the Appendix of this volume. Much also pertaining to Illinois will also appear in the same arrangement. But there are some facts more directly connected with the war with the British and Indians in 1812, that must have a place in this chapter.]

We have already referred to those causes of complaint on the part of the United States against England, which at length led to the war of 1812: they were, the interference with American trade enforced by the blockade system; the impressment of American seamen; the encouragement of the Indians in their barbarities; and the attempt to dismember the Union by the mission of Henry. Through the winter of 1811-12, these causes of provocation were discussed in Congress and the public prints, and a war with Great Britain openly threatened: even in December, 1811, the proposal to invade Canada in the following spring before the ice broke up, was debated in the House of Representatives, and in particular was urged the necessity of such operations at the outset of the anticipated contest, as should wrest from the enemy the command of the upper lakes, and secure the neutrality or favor of the Indian tribes by the conquest of Upper Canada.

While, therefore, measures were taken to seize the Lower province, other steps were arranged for the defence of the north-west frontier against Indian hostility, and which, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, would enable the United States to obtain the command of Lake Erie. These steps, however, were by no means suitable to the attainment of the object last named; in place of a naval force upon Lake Erie, the necessity of which had been pressed upon the Executive by Governor Hull of Michigan Territory, in three memorials, one of them as early as the year 1809, a second dated March 6th, and a third on or about April 11th, 1812; and although the same policy was pointedly urged upon the Secretary of War by General Armstrong, in a private letter of January

•Brown's History of Illinois, 293.





2nd, yet the government proposed to use no other than military means, and hoped by the presence of two thousand soldiers, to effect the capture or destruction of the British fleet. Nay, so blind was the War Department, that it refused to increase the number of troops to three thousand, although informed by General Hull, that that was the least number from which success could be hoped.

When, therefore, Governor, now General Hull (to whom, in consideration of his revolutionary services, and his supposed knowledge of the country and the natives, the command of the army destined for the conquest of the Canadas had been confided) commenced his march from Dayton on the 1st of June, it was with means which he himself regarded as utterly inadequate to the object aimed at, a fact which sufficiently explains his vascillating, nerveless conduct. Through that whole month, he and his troops toiled on toward the Maumee, busy with their roads, bridges and block-houses.

On the 24th, advices from the Secretary of War, dated on the 18th, came to hand, but not a word contained in them made it probable that the long expected war would be immediately declared, although Col. McArthur at the same time received word from Chillicothe warning him, on the authority of Thomas Worthington, then Senator from Ohio, that before the letter reached him, the declaration would have been made public. This information McArthur laid before General Hull; and when, upon reaching the Maumee, that Commander proposed to place his baggage, stores, and sick on board a vessel, and send them by water to Detroit, the backwoodsman warned him of the danger, and refused to trust his own property on board.

Hull, however, treated the report of war as the old story which had been current through all the spring, and refused to believe it possible that the government would not give him information at the earliest moment that the measure was resolved on. He, accordingly, on the 1st of July, embarked his disabled men and most of his goods on board the Cuyahoga Packet, suffering his aid-de-camp in his carelessness to send by her even his instructions and army-roll, and then proceeded upon his way. The next day, July 2nd, a letter of the same date with that received upon the 24th of June, reached



him, and apprized him that the declaration of war was indeed that day made, and before his astonishment was over, word was brought of the capture of his packet off Malden, with all his official papers. The conduct of the Executive at this time was certainly most remarkable; having sent an insufficient force to effect a most important object, it next did all in its power to ensure the destruction of that force.

On the 1st of June, Mr. Madison recommended war to the Senate; on the 3d of June, Mr. Calhoun reported in favor of it, and in an able manifesto set forth the reasons; and, on the 19th, proclamation of the contest was made. Upon the day preceding, Congress having passed the needful act, the Secretary of War wrote to General Hull one letter saying nothing of the matter, and sent it by a special messenger,—and a second containing the vital news, which he confided to a half organized post as far as Cleveland, and thence literally to accident. Nor is this all: while the General of the Northwestern army was thus, not uninformed merely, but actually misled, letters franked by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, bore the notice of what had been done to the British post of St. Joseph, near the north-western shore of Lake Huron; and also to Malden, which place it reached upon the 28th of June. And as if to complete the circle of folly, the misled General, through neglect, suffered his official papers, which he owned ought never to have been out of his possession, to pass into that of the foe, and thus informed them of his purposes and his strength.\*

That strength, however, was such, compared with their own, that no effort was made to prevent the march of the Americans to Detroit, nor to interfere with their passage across the river to Sandwich, where they established themselves on the 12th of July, preparatory to attacking Malden itself, and commencing the conquest and conversion of Upper Canada. And here, at once, the incapacity of Hull showed itself; by his own confession he took every step under the influence of two sets of fears; he dared not, on the one hand, act boldly, for fear that his incompetent force would be all destroyed; while,

\* For the foregoing facts see Manifesto of the Senate, June 3d, 1812, American State Papers, iii. 567.—Niles' Register, i. 72, 311, 459, vol. ii. 5, 86, 239 and 273.—Madison's Message, November 4, 1812, in American State Papers, i. 80.—Gov. Hull's Defence, 24 to 33 and 50.—Armstrong's Notices, i. 48 and Appendix. p. 234. Hull's Defence, pp. 7, 10, 11, 16.—Cist's Miscellany, ii. 298.—McAfee's History of the War, from 50 to 60.



on the other hand, he dared not refuse to act, for fear his militia, already uneasy, would utterly desert him.

Thus embarrassed, he proclaimed freedom and the need of submission to the Canadians, held out inducements to the British militia to desert, and to the Indians to keep quiet, and sat still at Sandwich, striving to pacify his blood thirsty backwoodsmen, who itched to be at Malden. To amuse his own army, and keep them from trying dangerous experiments, he found cannon needful to the assault of the British posts, and spent three weeks making carriages for five guns. While these were under way, Colonel Cass and Colonel Miller, by an attack upon the advanced parties of the enemy, demonstrated the willingness and power of their men to push their conquests, if the chance were given, but Hull refused the opportunity; and when at length the cannon were prepared, the ammunition placed in wagons, and the moment for assault agreed on, the General, upon hearing that a proposed attack on the Niagara frontier had not been made, and that troops from that quarter were moving westward, suddenly abandoned the enterprise, and with most of his army, on the night of the 7th of August, returned to Detroit, having effected nothing except the destruction of all confidence in himself, on the part of the whole force under his control, officers and privates.

Meanwhile, upon the 29th of July, Colonel Proctor had reached Malden, and perceiving instantly the power which the position of that post gave him over the supplies of the army of the United States, he commenced a series of operations, the object of which was to cut off the communications of Hull with Ohio, and thus not merely neutralize all active operations on his part, but starve him into surrender or force him to detail his whole army, in order to keep open his way to the only point from which supplies could reach him. A proper force on lake Erie, or the capture of Malden, would have prevented this annoying and fatal mode of warfare, but the imbecility of the government and that of the General, combined to favor the plans of Proctor.\*

Having by his measures stopped the stores on their way to Detroit, at the river Raisin, he next defeated the insufficient

\* See Hull's Defence, 42 to 71. Hull's Proclamation in Brown's History of Illinois, p. 302, Note. McAfee, 61; also *ibid*, pp. 76, 77. Col. Cass' Letter in Niles' Register, ii. 383. Armstrong's Notices, i. 24, 25.



band of two hundred men under Van Horn, sent by Hull to escort them; and so far withstood that of five hundred under Miller, as to cause Hull to recall the remnant of that victorious and gallant band, though it had completely routed the British and Indians. By these means, Proctor amused the Americans until General Brock reached Malden, which he did upon the 13th of August, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Detroit itself.

And here again occurred a most singular want of skill on the part of the Americans. In order to prevent the forces in Upper Canada from being combined against Hull, General Dearborn had been ordered to make a diversion in his favor at Niagara and Kingston, but in place of doing this, he made an armistice with the British commanders, which enabled them to turn their attention entirely to the more distant west, and left Hull to shift for himself. On the 14th of Aug., therefore, while a third party, under McArthur, was despatched by Hull to open his communications with the river Raisin, though by a new and impracticable road, Gen. Brock appeared at Sandwich, and began to erect batteries to protect his farther operations. These batteries Hull would not suffer any to molest, saying, that if the enemy did not fire on him he would not on them, and though, when summoned to surrender upon the 15th, he absolutely refused, yet upon the 16th, without a blow struck, the Governor and General crowned his course of indecision and unmanly fear, by surrendering the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, together with fourteen hundred brave men longing for battle, to three hundred English soldiers, four hundred Canadian militia disguised in red coats, and a band of Indian allies.\*

For this conduct he was accused of treason and cowardice, and found guilty of the latter. Nor can we doubt the justice of the sentence. However brave he may have been personally, he was, as a commander, a coward; and moreover, he was influenced, confessedly, by his fears as a father, lest his daughter and her children should fall into the hands of the Indians. In truth, his faculties seem to have been paralyzed by fear; fear that he should fail; fear that his troops would be unfair to him, fear that the savages would spare

\* McAfee, from 92 to 85. Armstrong's Notices, i. 26 to 33; *ibid.* i. Appendix, No. 10, p. 206. Hull's Trial. Do. Debeuse. Terms of Capitulation, McAfee, 90.





no one if opposed with vigor; fear of some undefined and horrid evil impending. McAfee accuses him of intemperance, but no effort was made on his trial to prove this, and we have no reason to think it a true charge; but his conduct was like that of a drunken man, without sense or spirit.

But the fall of Detroit, though the leading misfortune of this unfortunate summer, was not the only one. Word, as we have stated, had been sent through the kindness of some friend, under a frank from the American Secretary of the Treasury, informing the British commander at St. Joseph, of the declaration of war; while Lieut. Hanks, commanding the American fortress at Mackinac, received no notice from any source. The consequence was an attack upon the key of the northern lakes on the 17th of July, by a force of British, Canadians and savages, numbering, in all, 1021: the garrison amounting to but fifty-seven effective men, felt unable to withstand so formidable a body, and to avoid the constantly threatened Indian massacre, surrendered as prisoners of war and were dismissed on parole.\*

["The whole population of Michigan," says Gov. Hull, "of which Detroit was the Capital, was between four and five thousand souls; their settlements were on the Miami [Maumee] of Lake Erie, the river Raisin, Eros Rouge, the Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, and the Isle of Mackinac. The greater part were Canadians. They were miserable farmers, paid little attention to agriculture, and depended principally on hunting, fishing, and trading with the Indians, for support. The produce of the territory, in the substantial articles of living, was by no means sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants. Many were supplied with beef, pork, flour, and corn, principally from the State of Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania."†]

[The Indians in northern Illinois, and the country bordering on Lake Michigan, had manifested hostile feelings toward the Americans before the battle of Tippecanoe. Governor Edwards, who was indefatigable in his efforts to protect the settlements, employed trusty Frenchmen, who had traded with these Indians, and who could still pass under that guise, as spies in the Indian country. Their communications, in a

\* For the British account of Hull's surrender, see Niles' Register, iii. 14, 33, 265 to 268. For Col. Cass' Report, Niles, iii. 37 to 39. For Gov. Hull's Report, *ibid*, 52 to 57. For Articles of Capitulation, *ibid*, 13; various anecdotes, *ibid*, 44.

† Copied from Brown's Illinois, p. 301. Note.



plain unlettered style, have been examined on the files of the State Department of Illinois. They are often particular and minute in giving the position of Indian villages, number of the braves, sources from whence they received their supplies, the names of head men, and other details.

These facts, at short intervals, were communicated to the War Department, as proofs that the Indians were hostile, and were urged in his repeated applications to the War Department for protection to the inhabitants of that frontier territory.

We now come to a mournful and disastrous event;—*the massacre at Chicago*. And in this sketch, beside the State papers and Niles' Register, (iii. 155 and iv. 160) we have availed ourselves of an address delivered at Chicago by Wm. H. Brown, Esq.;—A Narrative of the Massacre at Chicago, by John H. Kinzie, Esq., who was born in a trading house on that spot;—and the History of Illinois, by Henry Brown, Esq. A large portion of the sketch by the last writer is made up from the simple and truthful narrative of Mr. Kinzie.

A small trading post had been established at Chicago in the period of the French explorations, but no village formed. It was one of the thoroughfares in the excursions of both traders and Indians. By the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, negotiated with the Pottawatomies and Miamies, &c., they agreed to relinquish their right to "one piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan, *where a fort formerly stood*."\*

In 1804, a small fort was erected here by the United States' government. It stood on the spot where the fort stood in 1833, but it was differently constructed, having two "block-houses on the southern side, and on the northern side, a sally-port, or subterranean passage from the parade-ground to the river."† It was called Fort Dearborn.

The officers in 1812, were Captain —— Heald, the commanding officer, Lieutenant Helm, and Ensign Ronan, (the two last very young men) and the Surgeon, Dr. Voorhees, with seventy-five men, very few of whom were effective.

Friendly intercourse had existed between these troops and

\* Indian Treaties, Washington, 1826, p. 51.

† Kinzie, p. 5.



individuals and bands of neighboring Indians. The principal chiefs and braves of the Pottawatomie nation visited Fort Malden on the Canada side annually, received presents to a large amount, and were in alliance with Great Britain.—Many Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Shawanese were in the battle of Tippecanoe, yet the principal chiefs in the immediate vicinity were on amicable terms with the Americans, and gave proof of it, by their rescue of those who were saved.

Besides those persons attached to the garrison, there was the family of Mr. Kinzie, who had been engaged in the fur trade at that spot from 1804, and a few Canadians, or *engages*, with their wives and children, who were attached to the same establishment.

On the 7th of April, a marauding party of Winnebagoes, attacked Mr. Lee's settlement, at a place called Hardscrabble, about four miles from Chicago, and massacred a Mr. White, and a Frenchman in his employ. Two other men escaped. This was near the junction of the canal with the south branch of the Chicago. For some days after this there were signs of hostile Indians, and repeated alarms at the garrison, but the whole passed off in quietness until all apprehension was dismissed.

On the afternoon of the 7th of August, *Winnemeg*, or Catfish, a trust-worthy Pottawatomie chief arrived at the post, bringing dispatches from Governor Full, the commander-in-chief in the north-west. These dispatches announced the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain; that General Hull, at the head of the army in the north-west, was on his way from Fort Wayne to Detroit:—and that the British troops had taken Mackinac.

His orders to Captain Heald, were, “to evacuate the post, if practicable, and, in that event, to distribute the property belonging to the United States, in the fort, and in the factory or agency, to the Indians in the neighborhood.

“After having delivered his dispatches, *Winnemeg* requested a private interview with Mr. Kinzie, who had taken up his residence in the fort. He stated to Mr. Kinzie that he was acquainted with the purport of the communications he had brought, and begged him to ascertain if it were the intention of Captain Heald to evacuate the post. He advised strongly that such a step should not be taken, since the garrison was



well supplied with ammunition, and with provision, for six months; it would, therefore, he thought, be far better to remain until a reinforcement could be sent to their assistance. If, however, Captain Heald should decide on leaving the post, it should, by all means, be done immediately. The Pottawatomies, through whose country they must pass, being ignorant of Winnemeg's mission, a forced march might be made before the hostile Indians were prepared to interrupt them.

Of this advice, so earnestly given, Captain Heald was immediately informed. He replied that it was his intention to evacuate the post, but that inasmuch as he had received orders to distribute the United States property, he should not feel justified in leaving until he had collected the Indians in the neighborhood, and made an equitable division among them.

Winnemeg then suggested the expediency of marching out and leaving all things standing—possibly, while the savages were engaged in a partition of the spoils, the troops might effect their retreat unmolested. This advice was strongly seconded by Mr. Kinzie, but did not meet the approbation of the commanding officer.

The order for evacuating the post was read next morning upon parade. It is difficult to understand why Capt. Heald in such an emergency, omitted the usual form of calling a council of war, with his officers. Perhaps it arose from a want of harmonious feeling between himself and one of his subalterns—Ensign Ronan—a high-spirited and somewhat overbearing, but brave and generous young man. In the course of the day, finding no council was called, the officers waited upon Capt. Heald, to be informed what course he intended to pursue. When they learned his intention to leave the post, they remonstrated with him upon the following grounds:

First. It was highly improbable that the command would be permitted to pass through the country in safety, to Fort Wayne. For, although it had been said that some of the chiefs had opposed an attack upon the fort, planned the preceding autumn, yet, it was well known, that they had been actuated in that matter by motives of private regard to one family, and not to any general friendly feeling towards the Americans; and that, at any rate, it was hardly to be expected that these few individuals would be able to control the whole tribe, who were thirsting for blood. In the next place, their march must necessarily be slow, as their movements must be accommodated to the helplessness of the women and children, of whom there were a number with the detachment. That of their small force, some of the soldiers were superannuated and others invalid; therefore, since the course to be pursued was left discretionary, their advice was to remain where they were, and fortify themselves as strongly as possi-





ble. Succors from the other side of the peninsula might arrive before they could be attacked by the British from Mackinac, and even should there not, it were far better to fall into the hands of the latter, than to become the victims of the savages.

Capt. Heald argued in reply, "that a special order had been issued by the War Department, that no post should be surrendered without battle having been given; and that his force was totally inadequate to an engagement with the Indians. That he should, unquestionably, be censured for remaining, when there appeared a prospect of a safe march through, and that upon the whole, he deemed it expedient to assemble the Indians, distribute the property among them, and then ask of them an escort to Fort Wayne, with the promise of a considerable reward upon their safe arrival—adding, that he had full confidence in the friendly professions of the Indians, from whom, as well as from the soldiers, the capture of Mackinac had been kept a profound secret."

From this time the officers held themselves aloof, and spoke but little upon the subject, though they considered the project of Capt. Heald little short of madness. The dissatisfaction among the soldiers hourly increased, until it reached a high degree of insubordination. Upon one occasion, as Captain Heald was conversing with Mr. Kinzie, upon the parade, he said, "I could not remain, even if I thought it best, for I have but a small store of provisions." "Why, Captain," said a soldier, who stood near, forgetting all etiquette, in the excitement of the moment, "you have cattle enough to last the troops six months." "But," replied Captain Heald, "I have no salt to preserve the beef with." "Then jerk it," said the man, "as the Indians do their venison."

The Indians now became daily more unruly. Entering the fort in defiance of the sentinels, they made their way without ceremony into the quarters of the officers. On one occasion, an Indian took up a rifle and fired it in the parlor of the commanding officer, as an expression of defiance. Some were of opinion, that this was intended, among the young men, as a signal for an attack. The old Chiefs passed backward and forward, among the assembled groups, with the appearance of the most lively agitation, while the squaws rushed to and fro in great excitement, and evidently prepared for some fearful scene. Any further manifestation of ill-feeling was, however, suppressed for the present, and Capt. Heald, strange as it may seem, continued to entertain a conviction of his having created so amicable a disposition among the Indians, as would ensure the safety of the command, on their march to Fort Wayne.

\* This is done by cutting the meat in thin slices, placing it upon a scaffold and making a slow fire under it, which dries and smokes it at the same time.



During this excitement amongst the Indians, a runner arrived with a message from Tecumthe, with the news of the capture of Mackinac, the defeat of Van Horne, and the retreat of Gen. Hull from Canada. He desired them to arm immediately ; and intimated, that he had no doubt but Hull would soon be compelled to surrender.\*

In this precarious condition, matters remained until the 12th of August, when a council was held with the Indians who collected from the vicinity. None of the military officers attended but Capt. Heald, though requested by him. They had been informed that it was the intention of the young chiefs to massacre them in council, and soon as the commander left the fort, they took command of the block-houses, opened the port-holes and pointed the loaded cannon so as to command the whole council. This, probably, caused a postponement of their horrid designs.

The Captain informed the council of his intentions to distribute the next day, among them, all the goods in the store-house, with the ammunition and provisions. He requested the Pottawatomies to furnish him an escort to Fort Wayne, promising them a liberal reward upon their arrival there, in addition to the liberal presents they were now to receive. The Indians were profuse in their professions of good-will and friendship, assented to all he proposed, and promised all he desired. The result shows the true character of the Indians. No act of kindness, nor offer of reward, could assuage their thirst for blood.

Mr. Kinzie, who understood well the Indian character, and their designs, waited on the commander, in the hope of opening his eyes to the appalling danger. He told him the Indians had been secretly hostile to the Americans for a long time ; that since the battle of Tippecanoe he had dispatched orders to all his traders to furnish no ammunition to them, and pointed out the wretched policy to Captain Heald, of furnishing the enemy with arms and ammunition to destroy the Americans. This argument opened the eyes of the commander, who was struck with the impolicy, and resolved to destroy the ammunition and liquor.

\* Kinzie, pp. 12 to 15.

† Brown's History of Illinois, p. 307. Note.



The next day, (13th) the goods, consisting of blankets, cloths, paints, &c., were distributed, but at night the ammunition was thrown into an old well, and the casks of alcohol, including a large quantity belonging to Mr. Kinzie, was taken through the sally-port, their heads knocked in, and the contents poured into the river. The Indians, ever watchful and suspicious, stealthily crept around, and soon found out the loss of their loved "fire-water."

On the 14th, Capt. Wells departed with fifteen friendly Miamies. He was a brave man, had resided among the Indians from boyhood, and knew well their character and habits. He had heard at Fort Wayne, of the order of General Hull to evacuate Fort Dearborn, and knowing the hostile intentions of the Pottawatomies, he had made a rapid march through the wilderness, to prevent, if possible, the exposure of his sister, Mrs. Heald, the officers and garrison, to certain destruction. But he came too late! The ammunition had been destroyed, and on the provisions the enemy was rioting. His only alternative was to hasten their departure, and every preparation was made for the march of the troops next morning.

A second Council was held with the Indians in the afternoon. They expressed great indignation at the destruction of the ammunition and liquor. Murmurs and threats were heard from every quarter.

Among the chiefs and braves were several, who, although they partook of the feelings of hostility of their tribe to the Americans, retained a personal regard for the troops, and the white families in the place. They exerted their utmost influence to allay the angry feelings of the savage warriors; but their efforts were in vain.

Among these was *Black Partridge*, a chief of some distinction. The evening after the second council, he entered the quarters of the commanding officer. "Father," said the venerable chief, "I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it, in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy."

The reserved ammunition, twenty-five rounds to a man, was now distributed. The baggage wagons for the sick, the



women and children were ready, and, amidst the surrounding gloom, and the expectation of a fatiguing march through the wilderness, or a disastrous issue on the morrow, the whole party, except the watchful sentinels, retired for a little rest.

The fatal morning of the 15th of August, arrived. The sun shone out in brightness as it arose from the glassy surface of the lake. The atmosphere was balmy, and could the feelings of the party have been relieved from the most distressing apprehensions, they could have departed with exhilarating feelings.

Early in the morning a message was received by Mr. Kinzie, from *To-pe-nee-be*, a friendly chief of the St. Joseph's band, informing him that the Pottawatomies, who had promised to be an escort to the detachment, designed mischief. Mr. Kinzie had placed his family under the protection of some friendly Indians. This party, in a boat, consisted of Mrs. Kinzie, four young children, a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's, two servants, and the boat-men, or *voyageurs*, with two Indians as protectors. The boat was intended to pass along the southern end of the lake to St. Joseph's. Mr. Kinzie and his eldest son, a youth, had agreed to accompany Captain Heald and the troops, as he thought his influence over the Indians would enable him to restrain the fury of the savages, as they were much attached to him and his family.

*To-pe-nee-be* urged him and his son to accompany his family in the boat, assuring him the hostile Indians would allow his boat to pass in safety to St. Joseph's.

The boat had scarcely reached the lake, when another messenger from this friendly chief, arrived to detain them where they were. We leave the reader to imagine the feelings of the matter. "She was a woman of uncommon energy, and strength of character, yet her heart died within her as she folded her arms around her helpless infants." And when she heard the discharge of the guns, and the shrill, terrific war-whoop of the infuriated savages, and knew the party, and most probably her beloved husband and first born son were doomed to destruction, language has not power to describe her agony!

At nine o'clock the troops, with the baggage wagons, left the fort with martial music and in military array. Captain Wells, at the head of his band of Miamies, led the advance





with his face blackened after the manner of Indians; the troops, with the wagons, containing the women and children, the sick and lame, followed, while at a little distance behind, were the Pottawatomies, about five hundred in number, who had pledged their honor to escort them in safety to Fort Wayne. The party took the road along the lake shore.

On reaching the point where a range of sand hills commenced, (within the present limits of Chicago,) the Pottawatomies defiled to the right into the prairie, to bring the sand hills between them and the Americans. They had marched about a mile and a half from the fort, when Captain Wells, who, with his Miamies, was in advance, rode furiously back, and exclaimed,

"They are about to attack us: form instantly and charge upon them."

The words were scarcely uttered when a volley of balls, from Indian muskets, behind the sand hills, poured upon them. The troops were hastily formed into lines and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran soldier of seventy, fell as they mounted the bank. The battle became general. The Miamies fled at the outset, though Captain Wells did his utmost to induce them to stand their ground. Their chief rode up to the Pottawatomies, charged them with treachery, and, brandishing his tomahawk, declared, "he would be the first to head a party of Americans and punish them." He then turned his horse and galloped after his companions over the prairie.

The American troops behaved most gallantly, and sold their lives dearly. Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, was in the action, behaved with astonishing presence of mind (as did all the other females) and furnished Mr. Kinzie with many thrilling facts, from which we make the following extracts. Mrs. Helm was the step-daughter of Mr. Kinzie. She states:

"Our horses pranced and bounded and could hardly be restrained, as the balls whistled around them. I drew off a little and gazed upon my husband and father, who were yet unharmed. I felt that my hour was come, and endeavored to forget those I loved, and prepare myself for my approaching fate.

"While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. V., came up, he was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his countenance was quivering with the agony of terror. He



said to me, 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

"Dr. V. said I, 'do not let us waste the few moments that yet remain to us, in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us endeavor to make what preparation is yet in our power.' 'Oh! I cannot die!' exclaimed he, 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful! I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who, though mortally wounded, and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation, upon one knee.

"'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier!'

"'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive gasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever!'

"At this moment, a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow which was aimed at my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping-knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian.

"The latter bore me, struggling and resisting, towards the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized, as I passed them, the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him.

"I was immediately plunged into the water, and held there with a forcible hand, notwithstanding my resistance. I soon perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me, as he held me firmly in such a position as to place my head above the water. This reassured me, and regarding him attentively, I soon recognized, in spite of the paint, with which he was disguised, *The Black Partridge*.

"When the firing had somewhat subsided, my preserver bore me from the water, and conducted me up the sand-banks. It was a burning August morning, and walking through the sand in my drenched condition, was inexpressibly painful and fatiguing. I stopped and took off my shoes, to free them from the sand, with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and I was obliged to proceed without them. When we had gained the prairie, I was met by my father who told me that my husband was safe, and but slightly wounded. They led me gently back toward the Chicago river, along the southern bank of which was the Pottawatomie encampment. At one time I was placed upon a horse without a saddle, but soon finding the motion insupportable, I sprang off. Supported partly by my kind conductor, and partly by



another Indian, *Pee-so-tum*, who held dangling in his hand, the scalp of Capt. Wells, I dragged my fainting steps to one of the wigwams.

"The wife of *Wau-bee-nec-mah*, a chief from the Illinois river, was standing near, and seeing my exhausted condition, she seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a little stream that flowed near, threw into it some maple sugar, and stirring it up with her hand, gave it to me to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many atrocities, touched me most sensibly, but my attention was soon diverted to another object. The fort had become a scene of plunder, to such as remained after the troops had marched out. The cattle had been shot down as they run at large, and lay dead or dying around.

"As the noise of the firing grew gradually less, and the stragglers from the victorious party dropped in, I received confirmation of what my father had hurriedly communicated in our rencontre on the lake shore; namely, that the whites had surrendered, after the loss of about two-thirds of their number. They had stipulated for the preservation of their lives, and those of the remaining women and children, and for their delivery at some of the British posts, unless ransomed by traders in the Indian country. It appears that the wounded prisoners were not considered as included in the stipulation, and a horrible scene occurred upon their being brought into camp.

"An old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the sanguinary scenes around her, seemed possessed by a demoniac ferocity. She seized a stable fork, and assaulted one miserable victim, who lay groaning and writhing in the agony of his wounds, aggravated by the scorching beams of the sun. With a delicacy of feeling scarcely to have been expected, under such circumstances, *Wau-bee-nec-mah* stretched a mat across two poles, between me and this dreadful scene. I was thus spared, in some degree, a view of its horrors, although I could not entirely close my ears to the cries of the sufferer. The following night, five more of the wounded prisoners were tomahawked."

But why dwell upon this painful subject? Why describe the butchery of the children, twelve of whom, placed together in one baggage-wagon, fell beneath the merciless tomahawk of one young savage? This atrocious act was committed after the whites, twenty-seven in number, had surrendered. When Capt. Wells beheld it, he exclaimed, "Is that their game? Then I will kill too!" So saying, he turned his horse's head, and started for the Indian camp near the fort, where had been left their squaws and children.

Several Indians pursued him, firing at him as he galloped along. He laid himself flat, on the neck of his horse, loading



and firing in that position. At length, the balls of his pursuers took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself. At this moment he was met by *Winnemeg* and *Wau-ban-see*, who endeavored to save him from the savages who had now overtaken him; but as they supported him along, after having disengaged him from his horse, he received his death-blow from one of the party, (*Pec-so-tum*,) who stabbed him in the back.

The heroic resolution of one of the soldier's wives deserves to be recorded. She had, from the first, expressed a determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were always subjected to tortures worse than death. When, therefore, a party came up to her, to make her prisoner, she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured of safe treatment; and literally suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.

The heart of Capt. Wells was taken out, and cut into pieces, and distributed among the tribes. His mutilated remains remained unburied until next day, when Billy Caldwell gathered up his head in one place and mangled body in another, and buried them in the sand.\*

The family of Mr. Kinzie, had been taken from the boat to their home, by friendly Indians, and there strictly guarded. Very soon a very hostile party of the Pottawatomie nation arrived from the Wabash, and it required all the skill and bravery of *Black Partridge*, *Waubansee*, *Billy Caldwell*, (who arrived at a critical moment,) and other friendly Indians, to protect them. Runners had been sent by the hostile chiefs to all the Indian villages, to apprise them of the intended evacuation of the fort, and of their plan of attacking the troops.—In eager thirst to participate in such a scene of blood, but arrived too late to participate in the massacre. They were infuriated at their disappointment, and sought to glut their vengeance on the wounded and prisoners.†

On the third day after the massacre, the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the *attaches* of the establishment, under the care of *Francois*, a half breed interpreter, were taken to St. Joseph's in a boat, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of *To-pe-ne-be*, and his band. They were then carried to Detroit, under the escort of *Chandonnai*, and a

\* Brown's Illinois, 316. Note.

† Kinzie, 26 to 23.





friendly chief by the name of *Kee-po-tah*, and, with their servants, delivered up, as prisoners of war, to the British commanding officer.

"Of the other prisoners, Captain Heald and Mrs. Heald were sent across the lake to St. Joseph's, the day after the battle. Captain Heald had received two wounds, and Mrs. Heald seven, the ball of one of which was cut from her arm by Mr. Kinzie, with a pen-knife, after the engagement.

Mrs. H. was ransomed on the battle field, by *Chandonnai*, a half breed from St. Joseph's, for a mule he had just taken, and the promise of ten bottles of whisky.

Captain Heald was taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who, seeing the wounded and enfeebled state of Mrs. Heald, generously released his prisoner, that he might accompany his wife.

But when this Indian returned to his village on the Kankakee, he found that his generosity had excited so much dissatisfaction in his band that he resolved to visit St. Joseph's and reclaim his prisoner. News of his intention having reached *To-pe-ne-be*, *Kee-po-tah*, *Chandonnai*, and other friendly braves, they sent them in a bark canoe, under the charge of *Robinson*, a half-breed, along the eastern side of Lake Michigan, three hundred miles, to Mackinac, where they were delivered over to the commanding officer.

Lieutenant Helm was wounded in the action and taken prisoner; and afterwards taken by some friendly Indians to the Au sable, and from thence to St. Louis, and liberated from captivity through the agency of the late Thomas Forsyth, Esq.

Mrs. Helm received a slight wound in the ankle; had her horse shot from under her; and after passing through the agonizing scenes described, went with the family of Mr. Kinzie to Detroit.

The soldiers, with their wives and children, were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawatomies, upon the Illinois, Wabash, Rock River and Milwaukee. The largest proportion were taken to Detroit and ransomed the following spring. Some, however, remained in captivity another year, and experienced more kindness than was expected from an enemy so merciless.

We have given this account more in detail, than is our usage, partly because the locality was Chicago, where some



individuals are still living who passed through these terrible scenes; and partly to correct a very erroneous notion, prevailing amongst many humane and philanthropic persons, that Indian hostilities usually commence by aggressions of the "pale faces," and that if they were treated kindly and liberally, they will be kind in turn. Individual instances have been referred to as proof of their general character.

The aborigines of this country were always rude savages; subsisting chiefly by fishing and hunting, and from the earliest traditionary notice, were engaged in petty exterminating wars with each other.

Delight in war and thirst for human blood is their "ruling passion." The liberal distribution of goods and provisions, and the promise of more ample rewards at Fort Wayne, by Captain Heald, could not allay this passion. They gave their solemn pledges for the protection of the party on their route to Fort Wayne, and sent out runners to rally their friends to the massacre the same day.

Since the foregoing sketch was in type, we have found the official report of Capt. Heald, dated Pittsburgh, October 23d, 1812. It is contained in Niles' Weekly Register, of November 7th, volume iii., p. 155. It varies in some particulars, though in nothing material, from the documents used for the sketch. Probably, he wrote in part from memory.

"On the 9th of August, I received orders from General Hull to evacuate the post, and proceed with my command to Detroit, leaving it at my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper. The neighboring Indians got the information as early as I did, and came from all quarters to receive the goods in the factory store, which they understood were to be given to them. On the 13th, Captain Wells of Fort Wayne, arrived with about thirty Miamies, for the purpose of escorting us in by the request of General Hull.—On the 14th, I delivered the Indians all the goods in the factory store, and a considerable quantity of provisions, which we could not take away with us.

The surplus arms and ammunition, I thought proper to destroy, fearing they would make bad use of it, if put in their possession.

I also destroyed all the liquor on hand, soon after they began to collect. The collection was unusually large for that place, but they conducted with the strictest propriety, till after I left the fort.

On the 15th, at 9 o'clock, A. M., we commenced our march



—a part of the Miamies were detached in front, the remainder in our rear as guards, under the direction of Captain Wells. The situation of the country rendered it necessary for us to take the beach, with the lake on our left, and a high bank on our right, at about one hundred yards distance. We proceeded about a mile and a half, when it was discovered the Indians were prepared to attack us from behind the bank.

I immediately marched up the company to the top of the bank, when the action commenced; after firing one round, recharged, and the Indians gave way in front and joined those on our flanks. In about fifteen minutes, they got possession of all our horses, provision and baggage of every description, and, finding the Miamies did not assist us, I drew off the few men I had left, and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie out of shot of the bank or any other cover. The Indians did not follow me, but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and, after some consultation among themselves, made signs to me to approach them. I advanced towards them alone, and was met by one of the Pottawatomie chiefs called the *Blackbird*, with an interpreter.

After shaking hands, he requested me to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners. On a few moments consideration, I concluded it would be the most prudent to comply with his request, although I did not put entire confidence in his promise. After delivering up our arms, we were taken back to their encampment near the fort, and distributed among the different tribes.

The next morning they set fire to the fort, and left the place, taking the prisoners with them. Their number of warriors was between four and five hundred, mostly of the Pottawatomie nation, and their loss, from the best information I could get, was about fifteen. Our strength was fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, out of which twenty-six regulars, and all the militia, were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children.

Ensign George Ronan and Doctor Isaac V. Van Voorhees, of my company, with Captain Wells, of Fort Wayne, are, to my great sorrow, numbered among the dead. Lieutenant Lina T. Healm, with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children, were prisoners, when we separated.

Mrs. Heald and myself were taken to the mouth of the river St. Joseph, and being both badly wounded, were permitted to reside with Mr. Burnet, an Indian trader. In a few days after our arrival there, the Indians all went off to take Fort Wayne, and in their absence I engaged a Frenchman to take us to Michillimackinac, by water, where I gave myself up as a prisoner of war, with one of my sergeants. The commanding officer Captain Roberts, offered



me every assistance in his power to render our situation comfortable while we remained there, and to enable us to proceed on our journey. To him, I gave my parole of honor, and reported myself to Colonel Proctor, who gave us a passage to Buffalo; from that place I came by the way of Presqu' Isle and arrived here yesterday."

Captain (subsequently Major) Heald, his wife and family, settled in the county of St. Charles, Mo., after the war, about 1817, where he died about fifteen years since. He was respected and beloved by his acquaintance. His health was impaired from the wounds he received.

Mrs. Heald, who still survives him, was a daughter of the late Colonel Samuel Wells, of the same county, one of the prominent men in Kentucky, previous to, and during the war.

Captain William Wayne Wells, who was killed in the battle, we suppose to have been a brother of Colonel Samuel Wells, and was for some years a prisoner and adopted amongst the Miami Indians. Consequently he was uncle to Mrs. Heald, though in Indian fashion he called her sister.

Mrs. Heald fought like a perfect heroine in the action, and received several wounds. After she was in the boat, a hostile Indian assailed her with his tomahawk, and her life was saved by the interposition of a friendly chief.

After the defeat of General Hull, and the victories of the British and Indians in the North-west, the people in the western States, and especially in Kentucky and Ohio, became excited, and but one sentiment prevailed. By the middle of August, the whole North-west, with the exception of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, was in possession of the British and their red allies.

Every citizen in the States referred to, and of the Territories of Indiana and Illinois, seemed animated with one desire—to wipe off the disgrace with which our arms had been stained, and to roll back the desolation that threatened the frontiers of Ohio and the territories beyond.

Gov. Harrison had been appointed Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States in August, and, upon the urgent recommendation of Gen. Shelby, Henry Clay, (then Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress,) the Hon. Thos. Todd, and others, was appointed by Gen. Scott, Major-General by brevet, in the Kentucky militia, and commanded the





expedition to the North-west. In the course of a few weeks Kentucky had about seven thousand men in the field.\*

Col. R. M. Johnson, and his brother James Johnson, were engaged in raising mounted men in Kentucky. Several regiments were directed to the aid of Indiana and Illinois. Vincennes was made the principal rendezvous, and General Samuel Hopkins, a venerable Revolutionary officer, was appointed to the command of the Kentucky troops destined to march in that direction.

In the meantime, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, was active in raising men and making preparations for an expedition against the hostile Indians on the Illinois river.

Col. Wm. Russell, of the 17th United States' regiment, was engaged in raising companies of troops, denominated "Rangers," to co-operate with Governor Edwards. Their place of rendezvous was near the present town of Edwardsville, West of Cahokia, and named "Camp Russell." The scattered settlements of Illinois then extended no farther north than Wood river, near Alton.

A line drawn from that point past Greenville and Mount Vernon to Shawneetown, would have enclosed all the white population, except a few families on the Wabash, adjacent to Vincennes.

The concerted arrangement was, for General Hopkins, with about four thousand mounted riflemen, to move up the Wabash to Fort Harrison, cross over to the Illinois country, destroy all the Indian villages near the Wabash, march across the prairies to the head waters of the Sangamon and Vermillion rivers, form a junction with the Illinois rangers under Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell, and sweep over all the villages along the Illinois river.

After entering the prairies of Illinois, the troops under Gen. Hopkins became disorderly; were wanting in discipline and subordination, and the expedition was defeated in its objects. Success depended on the celerity and secrecy of their march. If the Indians obtained knowledge of the approach of such a force, they would desert their villages and flee to the north, as they did. Game was abundant, especially deer, and no authority of the veteran General, or his aids, could prevent the troops, and even the subaltern officers from continually

\* Niles' Register, iii. 25. McAfee, 106 to 109.



firing at game. Add to this, the season was rainy, they had no competent guides, and the fourth day from Fort Harrison, they lost the course in the prairies, and returned to the Wabash.

On the 29th of September, General Hopkins wrote to Gov. Shelby, of Kentucky, saying:

"My present intention is to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and destroy their property, then fall upon the Illinois; and I trust, in all the next month, to perform much of it. Serious opposition I hardly apprehend, although I intend to be prepared for it."\*

How mortifying to the veteran soldier must it have been to write the official communication he did from Fort Harrison, October 6th.†

One great effect resulted from this expedition. It so alarmed the Indians on the waters of the Sangamon, Mackinac and Illinois rivers, that they retreated with their families, towards the north.

For a sketch of the expedition of Col. Russell and Governor Edwards, to the Kickapoo and Peoria towns, we are indebted to a communication from the Hon. John Reynolds, of Belleville, Illinois, who was an officer in the expedition. Our limits compel us to give it in an abridged form; still preserving the language of the writer.

"Towards the last of September, 1812, all the forces of United States' rangers, and mounted volunteers, to the number of three hundred and fifty, were assembled at Camp Russell, and duly organized, preparatory to marching against the Indians, and join the army under Gen. Hopkins. Camp Russell was one mile and a half north of Edwardsville, and then on the frontier.

Col. Russell commanded the United States' rangers; Cols. Stephenson and Rector were in command of the volunteers; Maj. John Moredock, and several others, (names not recollected,) were field officers. Captains William B. Whiteside, James B. Moore, Jacob Short, Samuel Whiteside, Willis Hargrave, (perhaps others,) commanded companies.

Colonel Jacob Judy was the Captain of a small corps of spies, comprising twenty-one men. [Gov. Reynolds was in this company.]

The staff of Gov. Edwards were, N. Rector, Robert K. Mc-

\*Niles' Register, iii. 170.

† Ibid, p. 204.



Laughlin, and Nathaniel Pope. There may have been more, but the writer does not recollect them.

This little army being organized, and with their provisions for twenty or thirty days packed on the horses they rode, (except in a few instances where pack horses were fitted out,) took up the line of march in a northwardly direction.

Captain Craig, with a small company, was ordered to take charge of a boat, fortified for the occasion, with provision and supplies, and proceed up the Illinois river to Peoria.

This little army at that time was all the efficient force to protect Illinois. We commenced the march from Camp Russell, on the last day of September. At that period the Indians on the Sangamon, Mackinac and Illinois rivers were both numerous and hostile.

The route lay on the west side of Cahokia creek, to the lake fork of the Macoupin, and across Sangamon river below the forks, a few miles east of Springfield. We left the Elk-heart grove to the left, and passed the old Kickapoo village on Kickapoo creek, and directed our course towards the head of Peoria lake. The old Kickapoo village which the Indians had abandoned was destroyed. As the army approached near Peoria, Governor Edwards despatched Lieutenant Peyton, James Reynolds, and some others, to visit the village of the Peorias, but they made no discoveries.

There was a village of the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies on the eastern bluff of the Illinois river, nearly opposite the head of Peoria lake.

The troops moved with rapidity and caution towards the village and encamped for the night within a few miles of it. Thomas Carlin, [late Governor of Illinois,] Robert Whiteside, Stephen Whiteside, and Davis Whiteside, were sent by the Governor to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and report to the commanding officer. This duty was performed at considerable peril, but with much adroitness. Their position was found to be about five miles from our troop, on a bluff, and surrounded by swamps impassable by mounted men, and scarcely by footmen. The swamps were not only miry, but at that time covered with high grass and brushwood, so that an Indian could not be discovered until within a few feet of him.

In the morning early, and concealed by a dense fog, the army marched, and it was not long before Capt. Judy, with his spies, came on an Indian and squaw. The Captain shot him, but while staggering and singing his death song, Capt. Wright of Wood river settlement, incautiously approached him, when, with the instinctive emotions peculiar to a dying Indian, he shot and mortally wounded Capt. Wright, who died after he was brought home. The squaw was taken prisoner and afterwards restored to her nation.



The army marched under the bluff, that they might reach the village undiscovered, but as they approached, the Indians with their squaws were on the retreat to their swamps. Instant pursuit was given, and in a short distance from the village, horses, riders, arms and baggage, were overwhelmed in the morass. It was a democratic overthrow, for the Governor and his horse shared the same fate as the subaltern, or the private soldier. We were all literally "*swamped*."

A pursuit on foot was ordered, and executed with readiness but extreme difficulty. In this chase many of the enemy were killed, and at every step, kettles, mats, and other Indian property were distributed in the morass.

Captain Samuel Whiteside, with a party, pursued the scattered enemy to the river, and several were shot in attempting to cross to the opposite shore. So excited were the men, that Charles Kitchen, Pierre Saint Jean, and John Howard, crossed the river on logs to follow the retreating foe. The Indians fled into the interior wilderness. Some of our men were wounded, but none killed in the charge.

On our return to the village, some children were found hid in the ashes and were taken to the settlement. After destroying their corn and other property, and securing all their horses, we commenced the homeward march. After traveling till dark to find a good camping ground, the rain set in, and the night was dark. Not knowing but that there were other Indian towns above, and learning that the expedition of Gen. Hopkins had failed to meet us, we apprehended danger from a night attack. Many of the soldiers had lost their blankets and other clothing, in the swamp, and there was much suffering in camp that night.

Captain Craig arrived at Peoria with his boat, where he remained several days, was repeatedly attacked by Indians, but, being fortified, and on his own ground, sustained no damage. He returned with the stores in safety. The troops marched back to Camp Russell, where they were discharged.

There are many incidents in the Annals of Illinois in 1812, and subsequent years, which we reserve for the Appendix.

The Pottawatomies, Ottowas, and other hostile Indians, made an attack on Fort Wayne, on the 28th of August, which was continued by cutting off all intercourse, until the 16th of September, when the garrison was relieved by the force under Gen. Harrison.

Early in September a fierce attack was made on Fort Harrison, which was situated a short distance above Terre Haute. Its defender was Captain Taylor, now General Taylor, the commander of the army in Mexico, and at present the





most eminent of American military men; and that his present position is derived from the possession of true merit was proved by his conduct at Fort Harrison, no less than by his behavior at Palo Alto, Resaca de Palma, and Monterey, as the following account will show.

Letter from Captain Zachary Taylor, commanding Fort Harrison, Indiana Territory, to General Harrison.

Fort Harrison, Sept 10th.

Dear Sir:—On Thursday evening, the third instant, after retreat beating, four guns were heard to fire in the direction where two young men (citizens who resided here) were making hay, about four hundred yards distant from the fort. I was immediately impressed with the idea that they had been killed by the Indians, as the Prophet's party would soon be here for the purpose of commencing hostilities, and that they had been directed to leave this place, as we were about to do. I did not think it prudent to send out at that late hour of the night to see what had become of them; and their not coming in convinced me that I was right in my conjecture. I waited till eight o'clock next morning, when I sent out a corporal with a small party to find them, if it could be done without running too much risk of being drawn into an ambuscade. He soon sent back to inform me that he had found them both killed, and wished to know my further orders; I sent the cart and oxen, and had them brought in and buried; they had been shot with two balls, scalped, and cut in the most shocking manner. Late in the evening of the fourth instant, old Jos. Lenar, and about thirty or forty Indians, arrived from the Prophet's town, with a white flag; among whom were about ten women, and the men were composed of chiefs of the different tribes that compose the Prophet's party. A Shawanee man, that could speak good English, informed me that old Lenar intended to speak to me next morning, and try to get something to eat.

At retreat beating I examined the men's arms, and found them all in good order, and completed their cartridges to fifteen rounds per man. As I had not been able to mount a guard of more than six privates and two non-commissioned officers for some time past, and sometimes part of them every other day, from the unhealthiness of the company, I had not conceived my force adequate to the defence of this post, should it be vigorously attacked, for some time past.

As I had just recovered from a very severe attack of the fever, I was not able to be up much through the night. After tattoo, I cautioned the guard to be vigilant, and ordered one of the non-commissioned officers, as the sentinels could not see every part of the garrison, to walk round on the inside during the whole night, to prevent the Indians taking any advantage of



us, provided they had any intention of attacking us. About 11 o'clock I was awakened by the firing of one of the sentinels; I sprang up, ran out, and ordered the men to their posts; when my orderly sergeant, who had charge of the upper block-house, called out that the Indians had fired the lower block-house, (which contained the property of the contractor, which was deposited in the lower part, the upper having been assigned to a corporal and ten privates as an alarm post.) The guns had begun to fire pretty smartly from both sides. I directed the buckets to be got ready and water brought from the well, and the fire extinguished immediately, as it was perceivable at that time; but from debility or some other cause, the men were very slow in executing my orders—the word fire appeared to throw the whole of them into confusion; and by the time they had got the water and broken open the door, the fire had unfortunately communicated to a quantity of whisky, (the stock having licked several holes through the lower part of the building, after the salt that was stored there, through which they had introduced the fire without being discovered, as the night was very dark,) and in spite of every exertion we could make use of, in less than a moment it ascended to the roof and baffled every effort we could make to extinguish it. As the block-house adjoined the barracks that make part of the fortifications, most of the men immediately gave themselves up for lost, and I had the greatest difficulty in getting my orders executed—and, Sir, what from the raging of the fire—the yelling and howling of several hundred Indians—the cries of nine women and children (a part soldiers' and a part citizens' wives, who had taken shelter in the fort) and the desponding of so many of the men, which was worse than all—I can assure you that my feelings were unpleasant—and indeed there were not more than ten or fifteen men able to do a great deal, the others being sick or convalescent—and to add to our other misfortunes, two of the strongest men in the fort, and that I had every confidence in, jumped the picket and left us. But my presence of mind did not forsake me for a moment. I saw, by throwing off a part of the roof that joined the block-house that was on fire, and keeping the end perfectly wet, the whole row of buildings might be saved, and leave only an opening of eighteen or twenty feet for the entrance of the Indians after the house was consumed; and that a temporary breast-work might be executed to prevent their even entering there—I convinced the men that this might be accomplished and it appeared to inspire them with new life, and never did men act with more firmness and desperation. Those that were able (while the others kept up a constant fire from the other block-house and the two bastions) mounted the roofs of the houses, with Dr. Clark at their head, who acted with the greatest firmness



and presence of mind the whole time the attack lasted, which was seven hours, under a shower of bullets, and in less than a moment threw off as much of the roof as was necessary. This was done only with a loss of one man and two wounded, and I am in hopes neither of them dangerously; the man that was killed was a little deranged, and did not get off the house as soon as directed, or he would not have been hurt—and although the barracks were several times in a blaze, and an immense quantity of fire against them, the men used such exertions that they kept it under, and before day raised a temporary breast-work as high as a man's head, although the Indians continued to pour in a heavy fire of ball and innumerable quantity of arrows during the whole time the attack lasted, in every part of the parade. I had but one other man killed, nor any other wounded inside the fort, and he lost his life by being too anxious—he got into one of the *gallies* in the bastion, and fired over the pickets, and called out to his comrades that he had killed an Indian, and neglecting to stoop down, in an instant he was shot dead. One of the men that jumped the pickets, returned an hour before day, and running up towards the gate, begged for God's sake for it to be opened. I suspected it to be a stratagem of the Indians to get in, as I did not recollect the voice. I directed the men in the bastion, where I happened to be, to shoot him let him be who he would, and one of them fired at him, but fortunately he ran up to the other bastion, where they knew his voice, and Dr. Clark directed him to lie down close to the pickets behind an empty barrel that happened to be there, and at day-light I had him let in. His arm was broken in a most shocking manner; which he says was done by the Indians—which, I suppose, was the cause of his returning—I think it probable that he will not recover. The other they caught about 130 yards from the garrison, and cut him all to pieces. After keeping up a constant fire until about six o'clock the next morning, which we began to return with some effect after day-light, they removed out of the reach of our guns. A party of them drove up the horses that belonged to the citizens here, and as they could not catch them very readily, shot the whole of them in our sight; as well as a number of their hogs. They drove off the whole of the cattle, which amounted to 65 head, as well as the public oxen. I had the vacancy filled up before night, (which was made by the burning of the block-house,) with a strong row of pickets, which I got by pulling down the guard-house. We lost the whole of our provisions, but must make out to live upon green corn until we can get a supply, which I am in hopes will not be long. I believe that the whole of the *Miamies* or *Weas*, were among the Prophet's party, as one chief gave his orders in that language, which resembled *Stone Eater's* voice, and I believe *Negro Legs* was there likewise. A



Frenchman here understands their different languages, and several of the Miamies or Weas, that have been frequently here, were recognized by the Frenchman and soldiers, next morning. The Indians suffered smartly, but were so numerous as to take off all that were shot. They continued with us until the next morning, but made no further attempt upon the fort, nor have we seen any thing more of them since. I have delayed informing you of my situation, as I did not like to weaken the garrison, and I looked for some person from Vincennes, and none of my men were acquainted with the woods, and therefore I would either have to take the road or the river, which I was fearful was guarded by small parties of Indians that would not dare to attack a company of Rangers that was on a scout; but being disappointed, I have at length determined to send a couple of my men by water, and am in hopes they will arrive safe. I think it would be best to send the provisions under a pretty strong escort, as the Indians may attempt to prevent their coming. If you carry on an expedition against the Prophet this fall, you ought to be well provided with every thing, as you may calculate on having every inch of ground disputed between this and there, that they can with advantage.

Z. TAYLOR.

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON.

Fort Harrison, September 13, 1812.

Dear Sir—I wrote you on the 10th instant, giving you an account of the attack on this place, as well as my situation, which account I attempted to send by water, but the two men whom I despatched in a canoe after night, found the river so well guarded, that they were obliged to return. The Indians had built a fire on the bank of the river, a short distance below the garrison, which gave them an opportunity of seeing any craft that might attempt to pass, and were waiting with a canoe ready to intercept it. I expect the fort, as well as the road to Vincennes, is as well or better watched than the river.

But my situation compels me to make one other attempt by land, and my orderly sergeant, with one other man, sets out to-night with strict orders to avoid the road in the day time, and depend entirely on the woods, although neither of them have ever been in Vincennes by land, nor do they know any thing of the country, but I am in hopes they will reach you in safety. I send them with great reluctance from their ignorance of the woods. I think it very probable there is a large party of Indians waylaying the road between this and Vincennes, likely about the Narrows, for the purpose of intercepting any party that may be coming to this place, as the cattle they got here will supply them plentifully with provisions for some time to come.

Z. TAYLOR.\*

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON.





But before the surrender of Hull took place, extensive preparations had been made in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, to bring into service a large and efficient army.\* Three points needed defence, Fort Wayne and the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Illinois river: the troops destined for the first point were to be under the command of General Winchester, a revolutionary officer resident in Tennessee, and but little known to the frontier men;† those for the Wabash were to be under Harrison, whose name since the battle of Tippecanoe was familiar everywhere; while Governor Edwards, of the Illinois Territory, was to command the expedition upon the river of the same name. Such were the intentions of the Government, but the wishes of the people frustrated them, and led, first, to the appointment of Harrison to the command of the Kentucky volunteers, destined to assist Hull's army,|| and next to his elevation to the post of commander-in-chief over all the forces of the west and north-west: this last appointment was made September 17th, and was notified to the General upon the 24th of that month.§ Meantime Fort Wayne had been relieved, and the line of the Maumee secured;¶ so that when Harrison found himself placed at the head of military affairs in the West, his main objects were, first, to drive the Indians from the western side of the Detroit river; second, to take Malden; and third, having thus secured his communications, to recapture the Michigan Territory and its dependencies.\*\* To do all this before winter, and thus be prepared to conquer Upper Canada, Harrison proposed to take possession of the rapids of the Maumee and there to concentrate his forces and his stores; in moving upon this point he divided his troops into three columns, the right to march from Wooster through Upper Sandusky, the centre from Urbana by Fort McArthur on the heads of the Scioto, and the left from St. Mary's by the Au-Glaize and Maumee,—

\*McAfee, 102 to 110.

†Armstrong's Notices, i. 52 to 66. Appendix, No. 8, p. 203. McAfee, 131.

||The propriety of this step was much questioned, See McAfee, 107, &c. Armstrong's Notices, i. 53.

‡McAfee, 140.—Also, Letter of Secretary of War, McAfee 118.

§See the details in McAfee, 120 to 139.

\*\*Armstrong's Notices, i. 59.—McAfee, 142.



all meeting, of course, at the rapids.\* This plan, however, failed: the troops of the left column under Winchester, worn out and starved, were found on the verge of mutiny, and the mounted men of the centre under General Tupper were unable to do any thing, partly from their own want of subordination, but still more from the shiftlessness of their commander;† this condition of the troops, and the prevalence of disease among them, together with the increasing difficulty of transportation after the autumnal rains set in, forced upon the commander the conviction that he must wait until the winter had bridged the streams and morasses with ice,‡ and even when that had taken place, he was doubtful as to the wisdom of an attempt to conquer without vessels on Lake Erie.||

Thus, at the close of the year 1812, nothing effectual had been done towards the re-conquest of Michigan: Winchester, with the left wing of the army was on his way to the Rapids, his men enfeebled by sickness, want of clothes, and want of food; the right wing approaching Sandusky; and the centre resting at Fort McArthur.§

In December, General Harrison despatched a party of 600 men against the Miami villages upon the Mississinneway, a branch of the Wabash. This body, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, destroyed several villages, and fought a severe battle with the Indians, who were defeated: but the severity of the weather, the number of his wounded (forty-eight,) the scarcity of provisions, and the fear of being attacked by Tecumthe, at the head of 600 fresh savages, led Colonel Campbell to retreat immediately after the battle, without destroying the principal town of the enemy. The expedition, however, was not without results, as it induced some of the tribes to come openly and wholly under the protection and within the borders of the Republic.¶

On the 10th of January, 1813, Winchester with his troops reached the Rapids, General Harrison with the right wing of

\* McAfee, 142, &c., 192, &c. at the latter reference Harrison's letter is given.

† McAfee, 146 to 151.—General Tupper's account is in Niles' Register, iii. 167.

‡ McAfee, 164, 165.

|| McAfee, 187, 196 to 199.—Dawson, 332, 341.

§ McAfee, 201, 199, 163.

¶ McAfee, 176 to 182.—Campbell's and Harrison's accounts are in Niles' Register, iii. 316, 331.



the army being still at Upper Sandusky, and Tupper with the centre at Fort McArthur.\* From the 13th to the 16th, messengers arrived at Winchester's camp from the inhabitants of Frenchtown on the river Raisin, representing the danger to which that place was exposed from the hostility of the British and Indians, and begging for protection.† These representations and petitions excited the feelings of the Americans, and led them, forgetful of the main objects of the campaign, and of military caution, to determine upon the step of sending a strong party to the aid of the sufferers.‡ On the 17th, accordingly, Colonel Lewis was despatched with 550 men to the river Raisin, and soon after Colonel Allen followed with 110 more. Marching along the frozen borders of the Bay and Lake, on the afternoon of the 18th, the Americans reached and attacked the enemy who were posted in the village, and after a severe contest defeated them. Having gained possession of the town, Colonel Lewis wrote for reinforcements and prepared himself to defend the position he had gained.|| And it was evident that all his means of defence would be needed, as the place was but eighteen miles from Malden, where the whole British force was collected under Procter. Winchester, on the 19th, having heard of the action of the previous day, marched with 250 men, which was the most he dared detach from the Rapids, to the aid of the captor of Frenchtown, which place he reached on the next evening. But instead of placing his men in a secure position, and taking measures to prevent the secret approach of the enemy, Winchester suffered the troops he had brought with him to remain in the open ground, and took no efficient measures to protect himself from surprise, although informed that an attack might be expected at any moment.¶ The consequence was that during the night of the 21st, the whole British force approached undiscovered, and erected a battery within 300 yards of the American camp. From this, before the troops were fairly under arms in the morning, a discharge

\* McAfee, 202, 203.

† McAfee, 204.

‡ See Colonel Allen's Speech in Armstrong's Notices, i, 67.

|| Lewis' account may be found in Niles' Register, iv. 49.

¶ McAfee, 211.—Winchester in his own account owns that he entirely disregarded the warning given him.



of bombs, balls, and grape-shot, informed the devoted soldiers of Winchester, of the folly of their commander, and in a moment more the dreaded Indian yell sounded on every side. The troops under Lewis were protected by the garden pickets, behind which their commander, who alone seems to have been upon his guard, had stationed them; those last arrived were, as we have said, in the open field, and against them the main effort of the enemy was directed. Nor was it long so directed without terrible results; the troops yielded, broke and fled, but fled under a fire which mowed them down like grass: Winchester and Lewis, (who had left his pickets to aid his superior officer,) were taken prisoners. Upon the party who fought from behind their slight defences, however, no impression could be made, and it was not till Winchester was induced to send them what was deemed an order to surrender\* that they dreamed of doing so. This Procter persuaded him to do by the old story of an Indian massacre in case of continued resistance, to which he added a promise of help and protection for the wounded, and of a removal at the earliest moment; without which last promise the troops of Lewis refused to yield even when required by their General.† But the promise, even if given in good faith, was not redeemed, and the horrors of the succeeding night and day will long be remembered by the inhabitants of the frontier. Of a portion of those horrors we give a description in the words of an eye witness.

Nicholasville, Kentucky, April 24th, 1813.

Sir:—Yours of the 5th instant, requesting me to give you a statement respecting the late disaster at Frenchtown, was duly received. Rest assured, sir, that it is with sensations the most unpleasant, that I undertake to recount the infamous and barbarous conduct of the British and Indians, after the battle of the 22d January. The blood runs cold in my veins when I think of it.

On the morning of the 23d, shortly after light, six or eight Indians came to the house of Jean Baptiste Jereau, where I was, in company with Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, Doctor Todd, and fifteen or twenty volunteers, belonging to different corps. They did not molest any person or thing on their first approach, but kept sauntering about until there was a large number collected, (say one or two

\* He says he did not mean it for an order, but merely for advice.

† McAfee, 215.





hundred) at which time they commenced plundering the houses of the inhabitants, and the massacre of the wounded prisoners. I was one amongst the first that was taken prisoner, and was taken to a horse about twenty paces from the house, after being divested of a part of my clothing, and commanded by signs there to remain for further orders.—Shortly after being there, I saw them knock down Captain Hickman at the door, together with several others with whom I was not acquainted. Supposing a general massacre had commenced, I made an effort to get to a house about one hundred yards distant, which contained a number of wounded, but on my reaching the house, to my great mortification, found it surrounded by Indians, which precluded the possibility of my giving notice to the unfortunate victims of savage barbarity. An Indian chief of the Tawa tribe, of the name of McCarty, gave me possession of his horse and blanket, telling me by signs, to lead the horse to the house which I had just before left. The Indian that first took me, by this time came up and manifested a hostile disposition towards me, by raising his tomahawk as if to give me the fatal blow, which was prevented by my very good friend McCarty. On my reaching the house which I had first started from, I saw the Indians take off several prisoners, which I afterwards saw in the road, in a most mangled condition, and entirely stripped of their clothing.

Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and Blythe, were collected round a carryall, which contained articles taken by the Indians from the citizens. We had all been placed there, by our respective captors, except Blythe, who came where we were entreating an Indian to convey him to Malden, promising to give him forty or fifty dollars, and whilst in the act of pleading for mercy, an Indian more savage than the other, stepped up behind, tomahawked, stripped and scalped him.—The next that attracted my attention, was the houses on fire that contained several wounded, whom I knew were not able to get out. After the houses were nearly consumed, we received marching orders, and after arriving at Sandy Creek, the Indians called a halt and commenced cooking; after preparing and eating a little sweetened gruel, Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and myself, received some, and were eating, when an Indian came up and proposed exchanging his moccasins for Mr. Searls' shoes, which he readily complied with. They then exchanged hats, after which the Indian inquired how many men Harrison had with him, and at the same time, calling Searls a Washington or Madison, then raised his tomahawk and struck him on the shoulder, which cut into the cavity of the body. Searls then caught hold of the tomahawk and appeared to resist, and upon my telling him his fate was inevitable, he closed his eyes and received the savage blow



which terminated his existence. I was near enough to him to receive the brains and blood, after the fatal blow, on my blanket. A short time after the death of Searls, I saw three others share a similar fate. We then set out for Brownstown, which place we reached about 12 or 1 o'clock at night. After being exposed to several hours incessant rain in reaching that place, we were put into the council house, the floor of which was partly covered with water, at which place we remained until next morning, when we again received marching orders for their village on the river Rouge, which place we made that day, where I was kept six days, then taken to Detroit and sold. For a more detailed account of the proceedings, I take the liberty of referring you to a publication which appeared in the public prints, signed by Ensign J. L. Baker, and to the publication of Judge Woodward, both of which I have particularly examined, and find them to be literally correct, so far as came under my notice.

I am, sir, with due regard, your fellow-citizen,

GUSTAVUS M. BOWER,

Surgeon's mate, 5th Regiment Kentucky Volunteers.

JESSE BLEDSOE, Esq., Lexington.\*

Of the American army, which was about 800 strong, one-third were killed in the battle and the massacre which followed, and but 33 escaped.†

General Harrison, as we have stated, was at Upper Sandusky when Winchester reached the Rapids; on the night of the 16th word came to him of the arrival of the left wing at that point, and of some meditated movement. He at once proceeded with all speed to Lower Sandusky, and on the morning of the 18th sent forward a battalion of troops to the support of Winchester. On the 19th he learned what the movement was that had been meditated and made, and with additional troops he started instantly for the falls, where he arrived early on the morning of the 20th; here he waited the arrival of the regiment with which he had started, but which he had outstripped; this came on the evening of the 21st, and on the following morning, was despatched to Frenchtown, while all the troops belonging to the army of Winchester yet at the falls, 300 in number, were also hurried on to the aid of

\* American State Papers, xii. 372. Do. 367 to 375.

† McAfee, 221.—See the accounts of Winchester and Major Madison in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix No. 7. p. 196.—In Niles' Register, iv. 9 to 13, may be found the British account, Winchester's, and one accompanied by a diagram: same vol. p. 29, is a full account by Winchester, and on page 83 one by Lewis and the other officers.



their commander.\* But it was, of course, in vain ; on that morning the battle was fought, and General Harrison with his reinforcements met the few survivors long before they reached the ground. A council being called, it was deemed unwise to advance any farther, and the troops retired to the Rapids again: here, during the night another consultation took place, the result of which was a determination to retreat yet farther in order to prevent the possibility of being cut off from the convoys of stores and artillery upon their way from Sandusky. On the next morning, therefore, the block-house, which had been built, was destroyed, together with the provisions it contained, and the troops retired to Portage river, 18 miles in the rear of Winchester's position, there to await the guns and reinforcements which were daily expected, but which, as it turned out, were detained by rains until the 30th of January.† Finding his army 1700 strong, General Harrison, on the 1st of February, again advanced to the Rapids, where he took up a new and stronger position, at which point he ordered all the troops as rapidly as possible to gather. He did this in the hope of being able before the middle of the month to advance upon Malden, but the long continuance of warm and wet weather kept the roads in such a condition that his troops were unable to join him, and the project of advancing upon the ice was entirely frustrated ; so at length the winter campaign had to be abandoned, as the autumnal one had been before.

So far the military operations of the north-west had certainly been sufficiently discouraging ; the capture of Mackinac, the surrender of Hull, the massacre of Chicago, and the overwhelming defeat of Frenchtown, are the leading events.— Nothing had been gained, and of what had been lost nothing had been retaken : the slight successes over the Indians by Hopkins, Edwards, and Campbell, had not shaken the power or the confidence of Tecumthe and his allies, while the fruitless efforts of Harrison through five months to gather troops enough at the mouth of the Maumee to attempt the reconquest of Michigan, which had been taken in a week, depressed the spirits of the Americans, and gave new life and hope to their foes.

\* McAfee, 209 to 211, 227 to 235.

† McAfee, 236 to 239.



About the time that Harrison's unsuccessful campaign drew to a close, a change took place in the War Department, and General Armstrong succeeded his incapable friend, Dr. Eustis. Armstrong's views were those of an able soldier; in October, 1812, he had again addressed the Government through Mr. Gallatin, on the necessity of obtaining the command of the lakes,\* and when raised to power determined to make naval operations the basis of the military movements of the north-west. His views in relation to the coming campaign in the west, were based upon two points, viz: the use of regular troops alone, and the command of the lakes, which he was led to think could be obtained by the 20th of June.†

Although the views of the Secretary, in relation to the non-employment of militia, were not, and could not be, adhered to, the general plan of merely standing upon the defensive until the command of the lake was secured, was persisted in, although it was the 2nd of August instead of the 1st of June, before the vessels on Erie could leave the harbor in which they had been built. Among these defensive operations of the spring and summer of 1813, that at Fort or Camp Meigs, the new post taken by Harrison at the Rapids, and that at Lower Sandusky, deserve to be especially noticed. It had been anticipated that, with the opening of spring, the British would attempt the conquest of the position upon the Maumee, and measures had been taken by the General to forward reinforcements, which were detained, however, as usual, by the spring freshets and the bottomless roads. As had been expected, on the 28th of April, the English forces began the investment of Harrison's camp, and by the 1st of May had completed their batteries; meantime, the Americans behind their tents had thrown up a bank of earth twelve feet high, and upon a basis of twenty feet, behind which the whole garrison withdrew the moment that the gunners of the enemy were prepared to commence operations. Upon this bank, the ammunition of his Majesty was wasted in vain, and down to the 5th, nothing was effected by either party. On that

\* Armstrong's Notices, i. 177, note.—Steps to command the lake had been taken before October.—See Niles' Register, iii. 142, 127.

† Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix, No. 23, p. 215.—The Secretary and General did not entirely agree as to the plans of the campaign.—See the Notices i. 176, &c.—McAfee, 249 &c.—Full accounts of the arrangements of the army in this year, may be seen in Niles' Register, iv. 145, 158, 187.





day, General Clay, with 1200 additional troops, came down the Maumee in flatboats, and, in accordance with orders received from Harrison, detached 800 men under Colonel Dudley to attack the batteries upon the left bank of the river, while, with the remainder of his forces, he landed upon the southern shore, and after some loss and delay, fought his way into camp. Dudley, on his part, succeeded perfectly in capturing the batteries, but instead of spiking the cannon, and then instantly returning to his boats, he suffered his men to waste their time, and skirmish with the Indians, until Proctor was able to cut them off from their only chance of retreat; taken by surprise, and in disorder, the greater part of the detachment became an easy prey, only 150 of the 800 escaping captivity or death.\* This sad result was partially, though but little, alleviated by the success of a sortie made from the fort by Colonel Miller, in which he captured and made useless the batteries that had been erected south of the Maumee.† The result of the day's doings had been sad enough for the Americans, but still the British General saw in it nothing to encourage him; his cannon had done nothing, and were in fact no longer of value; his Indian allies found it "hard to fight people who lived like groundhogs";‡ news of the American successes below had been received; and additional troops were approaching from Ohio and Kentucky. Proctor, weighing all things, determined to retreat, and upon the 9th of May returned to Malden.||

The ship-building going forward at Erie had not, meanwhile, been unknown to or disregarded by the English, who proposed all in good time to destroy the vessels upon which so much depended, and to appropriate the stores of the Republicans: "the ordnance and naval stores you require," said Sir George Prevost to General Proctor, "must be taken from the enemy, whose resources on Lake Erie must become yours. I am much mistaken, if you do not find Captain Barclay disposed to play that game."§ Captain Barclay was an expe-

\* Harrison's Report.

† McAfee, 264 to 272.

‡ See Tecumthe's Speech, McAfee.

|| For account of siege of Fort Meigs, by Harrison, &c., see Niles' Register, iv. 191, &c., 210, &c.—For diary of siege, do. iv. 243; for British account, do. iv. 272.—O'Fallon's (aid to General Harrison) is in National Intelligencer, June 16, 1840.

§ Letter of July 11th, given in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix, No. 19, p. 223.



rienced, brave, and able seaman, and was waiting anxiously for a sufficient body of troops to be spared him, in order to attack Erie with success;—a sufficient force was promised him on the 18th of July, at which time the British fleet went down the lake to reconnoitre, and if it were wise, to make the proposed attempt upon the Americans at Erie; none, however, was made.\* About the same time, the followers of Proctor again approached Fort Meigs, around which they remained for a week, effecting nothing, though very numerous. The purpose of this second investment seems, indeed, rather to have been the diversion of Harrison's attention from Erie, and the employment of the immense bands of Indians which the English had gathered at Malden,† than any serious blow; and finding no progress made, Proctor next moved to Sandusky, into the neighborhood of the commander-in-chief. The principal stores of Harrison were at Sandusky, while he was himself at Seneca, and Major Croghan at Fort Stephenson or Lower Sandusky. This latter post being deemed indefensible against heavy cannon, and it being supposed that Proctor would of course bring heavy cannon, if he attacked it, the General and a council of war called by him, thought it wisest to abandon it; but before this could be done after the final determination of the matter, the appearance of the enemy upon the 31st of July made it impossible. The garrison of the little fort was composed of 150 men, under a commander just past his 21st year,‡ and with a single piece of cannon, while the investing force, including Tecumthe's Indians, was, it is said, 3,300 strong, and with six pieces of artillery, all of them, fortunately, light ones. Proctor demanded a surrender; and told the unvarying story of the danger of provoking a general massacre by the savages, unless the fort was yielded: to all which the representative of young Croghan replied by saying that the Indians would have none left to massacre, if the British conquered, for every man of the garrison would have died at his post.§ Proctor, upon this, opened his fire, which being concentrated upon the north-west angle of the

\*Letter of General DeRottenburg, in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix No. 19, p. 229. McAfee, 343.

† McAfee, 297 to 299; 2,500 warriors were about Malden.

‡ General Harrison, quoted in McAfee, 329.

§ McAfee, 325.



fort, led the commander to think that it was meant to make a breach there, and carry the works by assault; he, therefore, proceeded to strengthen that point by bags of sand and flour, while under cover of night he placed his single six pounder in a position to rake the angle threatened, and then, having charged his infant battery with slugs, and hidden it from the enemy, he waited the event. During the night of the 1st of August, and till late in the evening of the 2nd, the firing continued upon the devoted north-west corner; then, under cover of the smoke and gathering darkness, a column of 350 men approached unseen to within 20 paces of the walls. The musketry opened upon them, but with little effect,—the ditch was gained, and in a moment filled with men: at that instant, the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant, and so directed as to sweep the ditch,—was unmasked and fired,—killing at once 27 of the assailants; the effect was decisive, the column recoiled, and the little fort was saved with the loss of one man:—on the next morning the British and their allies, having the fear of Harrison before their eyes, were gone, leaving behind them in their haste, guns, stores, and clothing.\*

[The late Governor Joseph Duncan of Illinois, then of Kentucky, was an Ensign, and one of the heroic defenders of Fort Stephenson.]

From this time all were busy in preparing for the long anticipated attack upon Malden. Kentucky especially sent her sons in vast numbers, under their veteran Governor, Shelby, and the yet more widely distinguished Richard M. Johnson. On the 4th of August, Perry got his vessels out of Erie into deep water; but for a month was unable to bring matters to a crisis; on the 10th of September, however, the fleet of Barclay was seen standing out of port, and the Americans hastened to receive him. Of the contest we give Perry's own account:

United States schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay, }  
13th September, 1813. }

Sir: In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most important particulars of the action. On the morning of the 10th instant, at sunrise, they were discovered from Put-

\* McAfee, 324 to 328.—The accounts by Croghan and Harrison are in Niles' Register, v. 388 to 390.—A further account and plan of the fort do. v. 7 to 9.



in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under weigh, the wind light at S. W. and stood for them. At 10 A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward ; formed the line and brought up. At 15 minutes before 12, the enemy commenced firing ; at 5 minutes before 12, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed to the *Lawrence*, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow line being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the Sailing Master. In this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister shot distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and a greater part of the crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced, from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half past 2, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the *Niagara*, gallantly into close action ; I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the *Niagara*, the flag of the *Lawrence* come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At forty-five minutes past two, the signal was made for "close action." The *Niagara* being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation evinced the greatest gallantry, and I have no doubt that all others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen.\*

Meanwhile the American army had received its reinforce-

\* American State Papers, xiv. 295. For Perry's Letters see Niles' Register, v. 60 to 62. See also Cooper's Naval History ; Life of Commodore Elliott, (Philadelphia, 1836 ;) Tristram Burgess' account of the battle, with diagrams, (Boston, 1839.)





ments, and was only waiting the expected victory of the fleet to embark. On the 27th of September, it set sail for the shore of Canada, and in a few hours stood around the ruins of the deserted and wasted Malden, from which Proctor had retreated to Sandwich, intending to make his way to the heart of Canada, by the valley of the Thames.\* On the 29th Harrison was at Sandwich, and McArthur took possession of Detroit and the territory of Michigan. At this point Col. Johnson's mounted rifle regiment, which had gone up the west side of the river, rejoined the main army. On the 2d of October, the Americans began their march in pursuit of Proctor, whom they overtook upon the 5th. He had posted his army with its left resting upon the river, while the right flank was defended by a marsh; the ground between the river and the marsh was divided lengthwise by a smaller swamp, so as to make two distinct fields in which the troops were to operate. The British were in two lines, occupying the field between the river and small swamp; the Indians extended from the small to the large morass, the ground being suitable to their mode of warfare, and unfavorable for cavalry. Harrison at first ordered the mounted Kentuckians to the left of the American army, that is, to the field farthest from the river, in order to act against the Indians, while with his infantry formed in three lines and strongly protected on the left flank to secure it against the savages, he proposed to meet the British troops themselves. Before the battle commenced, however, he learned two facts, which induced him to change his plans; one was the bad nature of the ground on his left for the operations of horse; the other was the open order of the English regulars, which made them liable to a fatal attack by cavalry. Learning these things, Harrison, but whether upon his own suggestion or not, we cannot say, ordered Colonel Johnson with his mounted men to charge, and try to break the regular troops, by passing through their ranks and forming in their rear. In arranging to do this, Johnson found the space between the river and small swamp to narrow for all his men to act in with effect; so, dividing them, he gave the right hand body opposite the regulars in charge to his brother James, while crossing the swamp with the remainder, he himself led the way against Tecumthe and his savage followers. The charge of James

\* See official accounts in Niles' Register, v. 117.



Johnson was perfectly successful ; the Kentuckians received the fire of the British, broke through their ranks, and forming beyond them, produced such a panic by the novelty of the attack, that the whole body of troops yielded at once. On the left the Indians fought more obstinately, and the horsemen were forced to dismount, but in ten minutes Tecumthe was dead,\* and his followers, who had learned the fate of their allies, soon gave up the contest:—in half an hour all was over, except the pursuit of Proctor, who had fled at the onset. The whole number in both armies, was about 5000, the whole number killed, less than forty, so entirely was the affair decided by panic. We have thus given an outline of the battle of the Thames, which practically closed the war in the north-west ; and to our own we add part of Harrison's official statement.

The troops at my disposal consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under His Excellency Gov. Shelby, averaging less than 500 men, and Col. Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above 3,000.† No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles' brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major-General Henry ; the whole of Gen. Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Col. Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left and forming upon that flank to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moments reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do any thing on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security ; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted

\* As to who killed Tecumthe, see Drake's life of that chief, p. 199 to 219, and Atwater's History of Ohio, 236.

† This estimate was too high, there were not more than 2,500. The British were nearly as numerous. See McAfee, Dawson, &c.



infantry: the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horse-back from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment, under their Colonel (Paull) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet formed by the front line, and General Desha's division, was an important point. At that place, the venerable Governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of sixty-six preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant Adjutant General, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer Aid-de-camp, and Brigadier General Cass, who having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His Excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire



in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.\*

Those who wish to see a fuller account, are referred to the authorities below, many of which are easily accessible.†

We have said that the battle of the Thames practically closed the war in the north-west:—the nominal operations which followed were as follows :

First was undertaken an expedition into Canada in February 1814, by Captain Holmes, a gallant young officer whose career closed soon after. In the previous month the enemy had taken post again upon the Thames, not far above the field of Proctor's defeat; Holmes directed his movement against this point. Before he reached it, however, he learned that a much stronger force than his own was advancing to meet him, and taking up an eligible position upon a hill, he proceeded to fortify his camp, and waited their approach. They surrounded and attacked his entrenchments with great spirit, but being met with an obstinacy and courage equal to their own, and losing very largely from the well-directed fire of the unexposed Americans, the British were forced to retreat again, without any result of consequence to either party.‡

Second; a fruitless attempt was made by the Americans to retake Mackinac. It had been proposed to do this in the autumn of 1813, after the battle of the Thames, but one of the storms, which at that season are so often met with upon the lakes,—by obliging the vessels that were bringing stores from below, to throw over the baggage and provisions,—defeated the undertaking.§ Early in the following April the expedition up lake Huron was once more talked of; the purpose being two-fold, to capture Mackinac, and to destroy certain vessels which it was said the English were building in Glou-

\*Niles' Register, v. 130. Dawson, 427.

† Dawson, 425 to 432. Drake's Tecumthe, 193 to 219. Atwater's Ohio, 233 to 238. Butler's Kentucky, 433 to 443. Hall's Life of Harrison. Dodd and Drake's Life of Harrison. See American accounts of the battle of the Thames, in Niles' Register, v. 129 to 234. British accounts do. 235. See also letter from R. M. Johnson in Armstrong's Notices. Appendix, vol. i. The whole number of troops furnished by Kentucky, up to this time, was supposed to be about 17,400: see particulars in Niles' Register, v. 173.

‡McAfee, 441 to 445. Holmes' own account is in Niles' Register, vi. 115.—See also, same vol. p. 80.

§McAfee' 403.





chester bay, at the south-east extremity of the Lake. This plan, however, was also abandoned; in part, from the want of men; in part, from a belief that Great Britain did not, as had been supposed, intend to make an effort to regain the command of the Upper Lakes; and also, in part, from a misunderstanding between General Harrison and Col. Croghan, who commanded at Detroit, on the one hand, and the Secretary of War on the other. Gen. Armstrong had seen fit to pass by both the officers named, and to direct his communications to Maj. Holmes, their junior, a breach of military etiquette that offended them both, and, in connection with other matters of a similar kind, led General Harrison to resign his post.\* No sooner, however, had the plan of April been abandoned than it was revived again, in consequence of new information as to the establishment at Gloucester bay, or properly at Mackadash.† In consequence of the orders issued upon the 2d of June, 750 men under Col. Croghan, embarked in the American squadron commanded by Sinclair, and upon the 12th of July entered lake Huron. After spending a week in a vain effort to get into Mackadash in order to destroy the imaginary vessels there building, the fleet sailed to St. Josephs, which was found deserted; thence a small party was sent to St. Mary's Falls, while the remainder of the forces steered for Mackinac. At the former point the trading house was destroyed, and the goods seized; at Mackinac the result was far different: the troops landed upon the west of the island upon the 4th of August, but after a severe action, in which Major Holmes and eleven others were killed, still found themselves so situated, as to lead Croghan to abandon the attempt to prosecute the attack; and Mackinac was left in the possession of the enemy. Having failed in this effort, it was determined by the American leaders to make an attempt to capture the schooner *Nancy*, which was conveying supplies to the island fortress. In this, or rather in effecting the destruction of the vessel, they succeeded, and having left Lieutenant Turner to prevent any other provisions from Canada reaching Mackinac, the body of the fleet sailed for Detroit, which it reached, shattered and thinned by tempests. Meanwhile the crew of the *Nancy*, who had escaped, passed over to Mackinac in a boat

\* McAfee, 414 to 422.—Harrison's resignation is on 419.

† McAfee, 421 to 425.—Armstrong's letters are given.



which they found, and an expedition was at once arranged by Lieut. Worsley, who had commanded them, for frustrating all the plans of Croghan and Sinclair. Taking with him 70 or 80 men in boats, he first attacked and captured the *Tigress*, an American vessel lying off St. Josephs; the next, sailing down the lake in the craft thus taken, easily made the three vessels under Turner, his own. In this enterprize, therefore, the Americans failed signally, at every point.\*

In the third place an attempt was made to control the tribes of the Upper Mississippi by founding a fort at Prairie du Chien.† Early in May, Gov. Clark of Missouri was sent thither, and there commenced Fort Shelby, without opposition. By the middle of July, however, British and Indian forces sent from Mackinac, surrounded the post, and Lieutenant Perkins, having but 60 men to oppose to 1200, and being also scant of ammunition, after a defence of some days, was forced to capitulate: so that there again the United States was disappointed and defeated.‡

A fourth expedition was led by Gen. McArthur, first against some bands of Indians which he could not find; and then across the Peninsula of Upper Canada to the relief of Gen. Brown at Fort Erie. The object of the last movement was either to join General Brown, or to destroy certain mills on Grand river, from which it was known that the English forces obtained their supplies of flour. On the 26th of October, McArthur, with 720 mounted men, left Detroit, and on the 4th of November was at Oxford: from this point he proceeded to Burford, and learning that the road to Burlington was strongly defended, he gave up the idea of joining Brown, and turning toward the lake by the Long Point road, defeated a body of militia who opposed him, destroyed the mills, five or six in number, and managing to secure a retreat along the lake shore, although pursued by a regiment of regular troops nearly double his own men in number,—on the 17th reached Sandwich again with the loss of but one man. This march, though productive of no very marked results, was of consequence from the vigor and skill displayed both by the com-

\* McAfee, 422 to 437. The official accounts are in Niles' Register, vii. 4, &c., 18, 156, 173, and Appendix to same, vol. 129 to 135.

† See letter of Gov. Edwards to Gov. Shelby. (Niles' Register, iv. 148,) dated March 22, 1813, given in the Appendix.

‡ McAfee, 439 to 442.



mander and his troops. Had the summer campaign of 1812 been conducted with equal spirit, Michigan would not have needed to be retaken, and the labors of Perry and Harrison would have been uncalled for in the North-west.\*

With McArthur's march through Upper Canada the annals of war in the North-west closed.

Meanwhile, upon the 22d of July, a treaty had been formed at Greenville, under the direction of General Harrison and Governor Cass, by which the United States and the faithful Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, gave peace to the Miamis, Weas, and Eel river Indians, and to certain of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Kickapoos; and all the Indians engaged to aid the Americans should the war with Great Britain continue.† But such, happily, was not to be the case, and on the 24th of December, the treaty of Ghent was signed by the representatives of England and the United States.‡

\* McAfee, 444 to 453.—McArthur's own account is in Niles' Register, vii. 239, 282, &c.

† American State Papers, v. 826 to 836.—Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 298.

‡ Holmes' Annals, ii. 471.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

The British *Sine qua non*—Indian Treaties at the close of the War—Progress of Settlements—Trade of the Lakes—Contest of Ohio with the United States' Bank—Canals in Ohio—Common Schools in Ohio.

#### *Negotiations at Ghent.*

[It is proper here to review some of the events of 1814, connected with the war.]

In the summer, Mr. Madison, with the approval of the Senate, sent out as Commissioners to negotiate peace, Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin. On the part of His Britannic Majesty, were Lord Gambier, Sir Henry Goulburne, and Hon. William Adams. The city of Ghent, in Belgium was selected as the seat of the negotiations. On the 12th of August, the American Commissioners communicated to President Madison the purport of several conferences. This document Mr. Madison laid before the Senate and House of Representatives. On the 10th of October following, the act to which we allude to, had previously found a place in the public journals, and great indeed was the indignation of the people. Even many of the Federal party, who, from the first, had opposed the war, gave in their adhesion, and sternly resolved to fight until Great Britain yielded her preposterous and unrighteous demands. There were several very objectionable propositions made by the British plenipotentiaries, in language scarcely courteous, but one proposition was called the "*Sine qua non*." The meaning, when elaborated, is, without which no negotiations,—no treaty. This related to their "Indian allies," was the second proposition as the basis of discussion, and expressed in these words:

"The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary to be settled for their territories."

The British Commissioners stated that "an arrangement on this point was a *Sine qua non* ;—that they were not authorized to conclude a treaty of peace which did not embrace the Indians as allies of his Britannic Majesty ; and that the establishment of a definite boundary of the Indian territory was





necessary to a permanent peace, not only with the Indians, but also between the United States and Great Britain."

At a subsequent conference, explanations were asked and given. The commissioners on the part of the United States report:—

"We took this opportunity to remark, that no nation observed a policy more liberal and humane towards the Indians, than that performed by the United States;—that our object had been, by all practicable means, to introduce civilization amongst them;—that their possessions were secured by well defined boundaries;—that their persons, lands, and other property, were now more effectually protected against violence or frauds from any quarter, than they had been under any former government;—that even our citizens were not allowed to purchase their lands;—that when they gave up their title to any portion of their country to the United States, it was by voluntary treaty with our government, who gave them a satisfactory equivalent;—and that through these means the United States had succeeded in preserving, since the treaty of Greenville of 1795, an uninterrupted peace of sixteen years, with all the tribes, a period of tranquility much longer than they were known to have enjoyed heretofore.

"It was then expressly stated on our part, that the proposition respecting the Indians was not distinctly understood.—We asked whether the pacification and the settlement of a boundary for them were both made a *sine qua non*, which was answered in the affirmative."

On the 8th of August, the Commissioners on the part of His Britannic Majesty, laid before the American Commissioners the following protocol in writing:—

"That the peace be extended to the Indian allies of Great Britain, and that the boundary of their territory be definitely marked out as a permanent barrier between the dominions of the United States and Great Britain. Arrangements on this subject to be regarded a *sine qua non* of a treaty of peace.\*"

The boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, was the one claimed as a permanent boundary on the part of Great Britain, for her "Indian allies." This line commenced "at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, run up the same to the portage, between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, [Laurens,] thence westerly to a

\* Niles' Register, vii. 70 to 76;—81 to 92;—218.



fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loromie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence westerly to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence south-westerly in a direct line to the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucke."

Carrying out the same principle in reference to Illinois, and the Indian boundary would have run from the vicinity of Fort Harrison across the State to a point below the mouth of the Illinois river. Another principle involved in the *sine qua non*, was the entire sovereignty and independence of the Indian confederacy; a principle never admitted by any civilized nation, and least of all by Great Britain to bands of wandering savages.

Other claims, not less preposterous and insulting, were put forth by the British Commissioners,—that the boundary line in Maine should be so altered as to afford Great Britain a direct communication from Quebec to Halifax; that the right to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, which had been guaranteed as a national right in the treaty of 1783, should be abrogated; and that the exclusive naval authority of Great Britain, should be held over all the northern lakes.

The reason assigned for this last insulting demand, was, that the British possessions of Canada might be in danger from American aggression, and that it would be no inconvenience to the Americans, for Great Britain to have entire control of the lake navigation.

Of course, our Commissioners unanimously resisted all these claims. The able and masterly documents were from the pen of the late John Q. Adams. They have been pronounced by high authorities, as masterly productions in diplomatic correspondence. Every communication from the American Commissioners was sent to London, and the British Commissioners waited for instructions before they replied. The claims of Britain were yielded only inch by inch, but before the 24th of December, they had given up all these questions.\*

The cause of the *sine qua non*, on behalf of the Indian al-

\* For the correspondence see Niles' Register, vii. 222, 239.—Trenty, Niles, vii. 397, 400.



lies of Great Britain, is to be sought in the pledges of the British authorities, to Tecumthe soon after, (more likely previous to) the declaration of war in 1812. On condition that Tecumthe and his Indian confederation, would form an alliance, offensive and defensive with Great Britain, that government would sustain them as an independent sovereignty in their claims to the country south of the lakes, and make the line established at the treaty of Greenville, the permanent boundary between the Indians and the United States, never to be abrogated without the consent of the contracting parties. Our evidence for this fact is, first, the train of events during the period of the war, to the termination at the treaty of Ghent, when the *sine qua non* was yielded, and their "Indian allies" left to the mercy of the United States. Secondly, we have proof from two sources, on which we place great confidence.

In 1818, we became acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Ruddel, (often spelled and pronounced *Riddle*,) who was taken prisoner in boyhood at Ruddel's station, in Kentucky, raised among the Shawanese, in the same village with Tecumthe, became an Indian in habit, and was liberated at the period of Wayne's treaty. He returned to Kentucky, adopted civilized habits, learned to read, married, professed religion and became a preacher of the christian sect. At the close of the war, he was employed by several families of Kentucky to visit the Indian tribes, especially the Shawanese of the North-west, to obtain the release of captives. Mr. Ruddel felt interested in the fate of his old friend Tecumthe, and from his former associates, learned the following particulars: That the British authorities did pledge Tecumthe to protect their interests and secure for them, as an ally, permanent possession of the territory not included in the relinquishment at Greenville; that Tecumthe became dissatisfied with the delay of Gen. Proctor, and doubted the ability of the allied army of British and Indians to conquer the United States; and that a few days before the battle of the Thames he held a private council with his principal chiefs and suggested, that if the British army did not act with more energy and promptitude, he would go over to the American side with all his forces, and secure by their alliance the rights of the Indians. Knowing the liability of Mr. Ruddel being deceived, in 1833 we held conversation with Billy



Caldwell at Chicago, heretofore mentioned, and he confirmed substantially the statement of Ruddel.

He was anxious to find some trust-worthy American citizen to write the biography of Tecumthe, and gave as a reason, that no British officer should ever perform that service to his distinguished friend, remarking at the same time, "the British officers promised to stand by the Indians until we gained our object; they basely deserted us, got defeated, and after putting in our claims in the negotiations at Ghent, finally left us to make peace with the Americans on the best terms we could. The Americans fairly whipped us, and then treated with us honorably, and no Briton shall touch one of my papers. Mr. Caldwell had a trunk well filled with papers and documents pertaining to Tecumthe. He also confirmed Ruddel's statement that Tecumthe would have deserted the British standard, had not the battle of the Thames occurred at the time it did.

We give these facts and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

The most prominent events during 1815, pertaining to the West, are the treaties negotiated with the Indians.

The first in sequence was made at Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, by Wm. Henry Harrison and Lewis Cass, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the *Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas and Miamies*. In this treaty the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese and Senecas made peace with the Miami, Eel river, and the Wea tribes; those bands of the Pottawatomies, which adhered "to the Grand Sachem Topenebe, and the chief Onoxa; to the Ottowas of Blanchard's creek," and to several other small bands who were friendly to the United States. All these tribes and bands engaged to give their aid to the United States, in prosecuting the war against Great Britain and her allies. On the faithful performance of these conditions, the United States agreed to confirm and establish all the boundaries between their lands and those of the several tribes concerned in the treaty, as they existed before the war with Great Britain. This treaty was signed on the 22d July, 1814.

About the middle of July, 1815, a large number of Indians, as deputies from the nations and tribes of the North-west, assembled at Portage des Sioux, on the right bank of the Mississippi, a few miles above the mouth of the Missouri, to ne-





gotiate treaties of peace with the United States. The Commissioners were William Clark, Governor of Missouri, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs west of the Mississippi, Ninian Edwards, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Illinois, and the Hon. Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis. Robert Wash, Esq., was Secretary to the commission. Henry Dodge, Brigadier-General, with a strong military force was present to prevent any collision, or surprise.

The first in order was with the *Pottawatomies*. Every injury, or act of hostility by either party against the other, was to be mutually forgiven; all prisoners to be delivered up; and "in sincerity of mutual friendship," every treaty, contract, and agreement, heretofore made between the United States and Pottawatomie nation to be recognized, re-established and confirmed. The same day a similar treaty was made with the *Piankeshaws*.

On the 19th of July, a series of treaties were made separately with several tribes of the *Sioux* or *N'Dokatah* nation. Similar terms were granted, as to the Pottawatomies, and these branches of the Sioux nation acknowledged themselves under the protection of the United States.

On the 20th a similar treaty was made with the *Mahas*, from the Upper Missouri.

The next in order was with the *Kickapoos*, on the 2nd of September, and the conditions exactly similar to those of the Pottawatomies.

On the 13th of September, a treaty was made with that portion of the *Sac* nation of Indians, then residing on the Missouri river, by twelve chiefs. They affirmed they had endeavored to fulfill the treaty made at St. Louis, on the third day of November, 1804, in perfect good faith; and for that purpose had been compelled to separate themselves from the rest of their nation, and remove to the Missouri river, where they had continued to give proofs of their friendship and fidelity; they propose to confirm and re-establish the treaty of 1804; that they will continue to live separate and distinct from the Sacs of Rock River, and give them no aid, until peace shall be concluded between them and the United States. The United States on their part promise to allow the Sacs of the Missouri river, all the rights and privileges secured to them by the treaty at St. Louis.



The next day, September 14<sup>th</sup>, a treaty was made with the Fox tribe of Indians. The conditions place these Indians on the same footing they were before the war, and they also re-establish and confirm the treaty of St. Louis, of 1804. On the 12<sup>th</sup> September, treaties were made with the *Great and Little Osage* nations, in which every act of hostility by either of the contracting parties against the other, was to be mutually forgiven and forgot. The treaty of 1803, made at "Fort Clark," on the Missouri, was re-confirmed.

We neglected to mention in its proper place, (p. 574,) that the Commissioner on the part of the United States was the late Colonel Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis. Fort Clark, called subsequently Fort Osage, was situated on the right bank of the Missouri, five miles above Prairie de Feu, (Fire Prairie) in Jackson county, a few miles below Independence.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of September, a treaty, (and the first we find on record,) was made with the *Ioway* Indians, on the same conditions as with the other hostile tribes.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> day of October a treaty was made with the *Kauzau* nation, on the same terms.

We will anticipate a treaty made on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, 1816, that we may finish up the Indian negotiations for peace in this article. The same Commissioners officiated on the part of St. Louis, and the negotiations were transacted in St. Louis.

As this treaty, in connection with the one already noticed, (ante page 546) and the ones with branches of the united nations of Sacs and Foxes already mentioned, will cast light on the "Black Hawk war," and remove imputations cast on the people of Illinois and the officers of the United States, of unfair treatment of the Indians. These Indians had been hostile for some years, and refused to come to the treaty ground the preceding year.

A small party, led by the noted brave, Black Hawk, even now refused to attend the treaty, proclaimed themselves to be British subjects, and went to Canada to receive presents. We give the treaty in full.\*

Whereas, by the ninth article of the treaty of peace, which was concluded on the twenty-fourth of December, eighteen hundred and fourteen, between the United States and Great

\* For these treaties, see *Indian Treaties and Laws*, Washington, D. C., 1826, pp. 75, 227, 234, 236, 263, 273, 276, 277, 278, 281, 283, 286, 289.



Britain, at Ghent, and which was ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the seventeenth day of February, eighteen hundred and fifteen, it was stipulated that the said parties should severally put an end to all hostilities with the Indian tribes, with whom they might be at war, at the time of the ratification of said treaty; and to place the said tribes inhabiting their respective territories, on the same footing upon which they stood before the war: Provided, they should agree to desist from all hostilities against the said parties, their citizens or subjects, respectively, upon the ratification of the said treaty being notified to them, and should so desist accordingly.

And whereas, the United States being determined to execute every article of the treaty with perfect good faith, and wishing to be particularly exact in the execution of the article above alluded to, relating to the Indian tribes: The President, in consequence thereof, for that purpose, on the eleventh day of March, eighteen hundred and fifteen, appointed the undersigned, William Clark, Governor of Missouri territory, Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois territory, and Auguste Chouteau, Esq., of the Missouri territory, Commissioners, with full power to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with all those tribes of Indians, conformably to the stipulations contained in the said article, on the part of the U. States, in relation to such tribes.

And whereas, the Commissioners, in conformity with their instructions in the early part of last year, notified the Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, of the time of the ratification of said treaty; of the stipulations it contained in relation to them; of the disposition of the American government to fulfil those stipulations, by entering into a treaty with them, conformably thereto; and invited the said Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, to send forward a deputation of their chiefs to meet the said Commissioners at Portage des Sioux, for the purpose of concluding such a treaty as aforesaid, between the United States and the said Indians, and the said Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, having not only declined that friendly overture, but having continued their hostilities, and committed many depredations thereafter, which would have justified the infliction of the severest chastisement upon them; but having earnestly repented of their conduct, now imploring mercy, and being anxious to return to the habits of peace and friendship with the United States; and the latter being always disposed to pursue the most liberal and humane policy towards the Indian tribes within their territory, preferring their reclamation by peaceful measures, to their punishment, by the application of the military force of the nation—Now, therefore,

The said William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, Commissioners as aforesaid, and the undersigned



chiefs and warriors, as aforesaid, for the purpose of restoring peace and friendship between the parties, do agree to the following articles:

ART. 1. The Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, do hereby unconditionally assent to recognize, re-establish, and confirm the treaty between the United States of America and the united tribes of Sacs and Fox Indians, which was concluded at St. Louis, on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four; as well as all other contracts and agreements, heretofore made between the Sac tribe or nation, and the United States.

ART. 2. The United States agree to place the aforesaid Sacs of Rock river, on the same footing upon which they stood before the war; provided they shall, on or before the first day of July next, deliver up to the officer commanding at cantonment Davis, on the Mississippi, all the property they, or any part of their tribe, have plundered or stolen from the citizens of the United States, since they were notified, as aforesaid, of the time of the ratification of the late treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

ART. 3. If the said tribe shall fail or neglect to deliver up the property aforesaid, or any part thereof, on or before the first day of July aforesaid, they shall forfeit to the United States all right and title to their proportion of the annuities which, by the treaty of St. Louis, were covenanted to be paid to the Sac tribe; and the United States shall forever afterwards be exonerated from the payment of so much of said annuities as, upon a fair distribution, would fall to the share of that portion of the Sacs who are represented by the undersigned chiefs and warriors.\*

There were some other treaties made in 1815-'16, which were of inferior purport.

A careful examination of these and all other Indian treaties, with full and correct knowledge of the historical events, will enable every unprejudiced person to perceive that the course of procedure on the part of the government of the United States with the aborigines of our country, has been highly paternal, beneficent and liberal. The conduct of Great Britain cannot be brought in comparison. In justice and equity, the United States might have made and enforced remuneration in lands as a penalty for the hostilities committed, but the language in each treaty is "that every injury, or act of hostility, shall be forgiven and forgot."

The war being over, and the Indian tribes of the northwest being deprived of their distinguished British ally, and

\* Indian Treaties, p. 237.





having consented to be at peace, confidence was restored to the frontier settlements, and emigration again began to push into the forests and prairies.

The campaigns of the rangers and mounted volunteers, who had traversed the groves and prairies of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan, served as explorations of new and fertile countries, and opened the way for thousands of hardy pioneers, and the formation of settlements.

The rich and delightful lands along the waters of the Wabash, the Kaskaskia, the Sangamon, and the Illinois rivers, had filled their hearts with enthusiasm, and the very men, who in hostile array, had traversed the country, began to advance with their families in the peaceful character of husbandmen, and to plant new settlements in all this region.

In the Territory of Michigan, a much larger portion of the soil remained in possession of the aborigines than further south. Previous to the war, but few settlements were made beyond the vicinity of Detroit, and along the river Raisin.—These, to a great extent, had been broken up by the savages and their English allies during the war. It was not until a later period that the immigrants penetrated the interior of that territory. But Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, from 1816 to 1820, received a continuous succession of immigrants. Ohio, but particularly Kentucky and Tennessee, sent out vast numbers to these new regions, where land was abundant, cheap and productive.

In the early part of 1816, Congress having previously granted authority, a Convention was elected and assembled to form a State Government. A constitution was adopted and reported to Congress. It was approved by that body, and the "State of Indiana" received admission into the Union on the 19th day of April, 1816.

The new State Government went into operation by the election of the Hon. Jonathan Jennings, Governor, who had represented the territory as Delegate in Congress from 1809. The General Assembly discharged its duties in the formation of the various departments, agreeable to the provisions of the constitution, and changing the territorial laws in accordance with its position as a State.

We shall now give several items in the progress of the north-west, chiefly in Ohio, from Mr. Perkins, as found in the



first edition of these Annals; leaving all that pertains to Illinois, Missouri, and the still more recently settled regions of the north-west, for our Appendix.

It ought to have been chronicled under the proper date, that on the 26th February, 1814, Hon. John Cleves Symmes, the patriarch of the settlement in the Miami country, died in Cincinnati, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was buried at the North Bend, and his grave is to be found about thirty rods to the north-west of the tomb of President Harrison.\*]

On the 18th of March, 1816, Pittsburgh was incorporated as a city; it had been incorporated as a borough on the 22d of April, 1794.

In 1817 it contained five glass houses, four air-furnaces, one hundred and nine stores, eight steam-engines in mills, 1,303 houses, 8,000 people, and manufactured 400 tons of nails by steam.†

Columbus was this year made permanently the Capital of Ohio.

Congress in 1804 had granted to Michigan a township of land, for the support of a College; in this year, (1817,) the University of Michigan was established by the Governor and Judges.

During 1817, an effort was made to extinguish the Indian title within the State of Ohio, and had the Miamies attended the council, held at the Rapids of the Maumee, in September, it probably would have been done. As it was, Cass and McArthur purchased of the other tribes nearly the whole north-west of the Buckeye State, the number of acres, exclusive of reservations, being estimated at 3,694,540, for which were paid 140,893 dollars; being 3 cents and 8 mills an acre.‡

A full history of banking in Ohio, would as much exceed our limits as we fear it would tire the patience of our readers. But as about this time the disposition to an excess in the creation of such institutions was plainly manifested, it may not be improper to mention the leading acts of the Legislature in reference to the subject.

The earliest bank chartered was the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati, the bill for which passed in April, 1803.

\* See Howe's Ohio, 235.

† American Pioneer, i. 307, 309. This paper contains many facts respecting Pittsburgh.

‡ American State Papers, v. 131 to 140,—149, 150. Lanman's Michigan, 230, note.



Banking was with this company a secondary object, its main purpose being to facilitate trade, then much depressed; nor was it till 1808 that the first bank, strictly speaking, that of Marietta, was chartered. During the same session the proposition of founding a State Bank was considered, and reported upon by Mr. Worthington; it resulted in the establishment of the Bank of Chillicothe. From that time charters were granted to similar institutions up to the year 1816, when the great banking law was passed, incorporating twelve new banks, extending the charters of old ones, and making the State a party in the profits and capital of the institutions thus created and renewed, without any advance of means on her part. This was done in the following manner: each new bank was at the outset to set apart one share in twenty-five for the State, without payment, and each bank, whose charter was renewed, was to create, for the State, stock in the same proportion; each bank, new and old, was yearly to set apart out of its profits a sum which would make, at the time the charter expired, a sum equal to one twenty-fifth of the whole stock, which was to belong to the State; and the dividends coming to the State were to be invested and reinvested until one-sixth of the stock was State property:—the last provision was subject to change by future legislatures.

This interest of the State in her banks continued until 1825, when the law was so amended as to change her stock into a tax of two per cent. upon all dividends made up to that time, and four per cent. upon all made thereafter. But before the law of 1816, in February 1815, Ohio had begun to raise a revenue from her banking institutions, levying upon their dividends a tax of four per cent. This law, however, was made null with regard to such banks as accepted the terms of the law of 1816. After 1825, no change was made until March, 1831, when the tax was increased to five per cent.

Two important acts have been more lately passed by the legislature, to which we can do nothing more than refer. In 1839, a law was enacted, appointing bank commissioners, who were to examine the various institutions and report upon their condition. This inquisition was resisted by some of the banks, and much controversy followed, both in and out of the General Assembly. In 1845 a new system of banking



was adopted, embracing both a State Bank with branches, and independent banks.\*

On the 18th of April, 1818, Congress authorized the people of Illinois to form a State Constitution; this was done during the ensuing summer, and adopted August 26th. The northern boundary of the State as fixed by Congress, was latitude 42 deg. 30 min.

All the territory north of the new State of Illinois was attached to Michigan.†

Great emigration took place to Michigan in consequence of the sale of large quantities of public lands.‡

The Walk-in-the-Water, the first steam-boat in the upper lakes, (Erie, Huron, and Michigan,) began her trips, going once as far as Mackinac.§ The following sketch of the lake trade since that time we take from the National Intelligencer:

In 1826 the first steamboat was seen on the waters of lake Michigan, a pleasure trip having been made that year to Green Bay; and, although during the following years similar trips were made to that place, it was not until 1832 that a boat visited Chicago. In 1833, the trade upon the upper lakes was carried on by eleven steamboats, costing about \$360,000, and two trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. In 1824, there were eighteen boats, costing \$600,000, and three trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. The commerce west of Detroit, at that time, and for many years afterwards, being almost entirely confined to the Indian trade and to supplying the United States' military posts, some small schooners were also employed. The trade rapidly increased with the population, until, in 1840, there were upon the upper lakes, forty-eight steamers of from 150 to 750 tons burden, and costing \$2,000,000, the business west of Detroit producing to the owners about \$201,000. In 1841, the trade had so augmented as to employ six of the largest boats in running from Buffalo to Chicago, and one to Green Bay, and during that year the sailing vessels had increased to about 250, of from 30 to 350 tons, costing about \$1,250,000. In 1845 there were upon the upper lakes, 60 vessels, including propellers, moved by steam, measuring 23,000 tons, and 320 sailing vessels, costing \$4,600,000, some of them measuring 1,200 tons. The increase in that year was 47 vessels, carrying 9,700

\* Burnet's Letters, 149.—Chase's Statutes, ii. 913 to 924; especially sections from 34 to 40;—ii. 1463;—iii. pp. 1820, 2022, 225.—Journals of the House for 1807-8, pp. 103, 106, 110, 111, 121, 122, 123, 134. Report of Bank Commissioners, 1839.—Laws of 1815, p. 24 to 34.

† Lanman, 225.

‡ Lanman, 221.

§ Lanman, 222.





tons, and costing \$650,000; and since the last fall 16 steamers and 14 sailing vessels of the largest class have been put under construction. In 1845, there were upon lake Ontario, fifteen steamboats and propellers, and about 100 sailing vessels, having a burden of 18,000 tons, and costing \$1,500,000, many of which, by using the Welland canal carry on business with Chicago and other places on the western lakes. Since the close of the last season many additional vessels have been built on this lake.

The commerce of the port of Buffalo alone, during the year 1845, amounted to \$33,000,000 in value; and that of all the other places on the lakes exceeding that amount, would make an aggregate of full \$70,000,000, while even this would be greatly augmented if we could add the value of the commerce of the upper lakes, which, by the way of the Welland canal, goes direct to the Canadian ports. The steamboats alone leaving Buffalo for the West in the year 1845, carried from that place 97,736 passengers, of whom 20,636 were landed at Detroit, 1,670 at Mackinac, 12,775 at Milwaukee, 2,790 at Southport, 2,750 at Racine, and 20,244 at Chicago. If to this aggregate we were to add the numbers arriving at Buffalo from the west, and the numbers leaving there in sailing vessels, the multitudes going between other places on those lakes, and some 50,000 who were passengers in the vessels on lake Ontario, we would have a grand total of at least 250,000 passengers on the lakes during the last year, whose lives were subjected to all the risks attending the navigation of those waters, exclusive of the officers and crews of all the vessels engaged in that navigation. During the last five years, upwards of four hundred lives and property worth more than a million of dollars have been lost on the lakes.

On the 24th of September, Lewis Cass concluded at Saginaw, a treaty with the Chippewas, by which another large part of Michigan was ceded to the United States.

On the 20th of August, Benjamin Parke, for the United States, bought at Fort Harrison, of the Kickapoos of Vermilion river, all their lands upon the Wabash; while on the 30th of July, at Edwardsville, Illinois, Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, bought of the main body of the same tribe the claims upon the same waters, together with other lands reaching west to the mouth of the Illinois river.\*

In this year the United States appropriated \$10,000 annually towards the civilization of the Indians, but no part was at first expended, as the best modes of effecting the object were not apparent.†

\* American State Papers, vi. 194 to 200.

† See Calhoun in American State Papers, vi. 200, 201.



During 1819 also, a report was made to Congress upon the Missouri fur trade, exhibiting its condition at that time and tracing its history: it may be found in the 6th volume of the American State Papers, p. 201.

The second United States bank was chartered in 1816. On the 28th of January, 1817, this bank opened a branch at Cincinnati; and on the 13th of October following, another branch at Chillicothe, which did not commence banking, however, until the next spring. These branches Ohio claimed the right to tax, and passed a law by which, should they continue to transact business after the 15th of September, 1819, they were to be taxed fifty thousand dollars each, and the State Auditor was authorized to issue his warrant for the collection of such tax. This law was passed with great deliberation apparently, and by a full vote. The branches not ceasing their business, the authorities of the State prepared to collect their dues; this, however, the bank intended to prevent, and for the purpose of prevention, filed a bill in Chancery in the United States Circuit Court, asking an injunction upon Ralph Osborn, Auditor of State, to prevent his proceeding in the act of collection. Osborn, by legal advice, refused to appear upon the 4th of September, the day named in the writ, and in his absence the court allowed the injunction, though it required bonds of the bank, at the same time, to the extent of \$100,000;—which bonds were given. On Tuesday, the 14th of September, as the day for collection drew nigh, the bank sent an agent to Columbus, who served upon the Auditor a copy of the petition for injunction, and a subpœna to appear before the court upon the first Monday in the following January, but who had no copy of the writ of injunction which had been allowed. The petition and subpœna Osborn enclosed to the Secretary of State, who was then at Chillicothe, together with his warrant for levying the tax; requesting the Secretary to take legal advice, and if the papers did not amount to an injunction, to have the warrant executed; but if they did, to retain it. The lawyers advised that the papers were not equivalent to an injunction, and thereupon the State writ for collection was given to John L. Harper, with directions to enter the banking house and demand payment of the tax; and upon refusal, to enter the vault and levy the amount required: he was told to offer no violence, and if opposed by force, to go at



once before a proper magistrate and depose to that fact. Harper, taking with him T. Orr and J. McCollister, on Friday, September 17th, went to the bank, and first securing access to the vault, demanded the tax; payment was refused, and notice given of the injunction which had been granted; but the officer, disregarding this notice, entered the vault, and seized in gold, silver and notes, \$98,000, which, on the 20th, he paid over to the State Treasurer, H. M. Curry. The officers concerned in this collection were arrested and imprisoned by the United States Circuit Court for a contempt of the injunction granted, and the money taken was returned to the bank. The decision of the Circuit Court was in February, 1824, tried before the Supreme Court, and its decree affirmed, whereupon the State submitted. Meantime, however, in December 1820, and January 1821, the Legislature of Ohio had passed the following resolutions:

*"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That, in respect to the powers of the Governments of the several States that compose the American Union, and the powers of the Federal Government, this General Assembly do recognize and approve the doctrines asserted by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, and do consider that their principles have been recognized and adopted by a majority of the American people.*

*Resolved, further, That this General Assembly do assert, and will maintain, by all legal and constitutional means, the right of the State to tax the business and property of any private corporation of trade, incorporated by the Congress of the United States, and located to transact its corporate business within any State.*

*Resolved, further, That the Bank of the United States is a private corporation of trade, the capital and business of which may be legally taxed in any State where they may be found.*

*Resolved, further, That this General Assembly do protest against the doctrine that the political rights of the separate States that compose the American Union, and their powers as sovereign States, may be settled and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to conclude and bind them in cases contrived between individuals, and where they are, no one of them, parties direct."*



In accordance with these resolves, the bank, was, for a time, deprived of the aid of the State laws in the collection of its debts, and the protection of its rights;—and an attempt was made, though in vain, to effect a change in the Federal Constitution which would take the case out of the United States tribunals.\*

In November 1819, Gov. Cass had written to the War Department, proposing a tour along the southern shore of lake Superior, and toward the heads of the Mississippi; the purposes being to ascertain the state of the fur trade, to examine the copper region, and especially to form acquaintance and connections with the various Indian tribes. In the following January the Secretary of War wrote approving the plan, and in May the expedition started. [A full account of it by Mr. Schoolcraft was published at Albany, N. Y., in 1821, in one volume. The expedition was attended with success.]

During this year, and from this time forward, treaties were made with the western and north-western tribes, extinguishing by degrees, their title throughout a great part of the original north-western territory:—of these treaties we shall not hereafter, speak particularly, except in as far as they stand connected with the Black Hawk war of 1832. The documents can be found in the sixth volume of the American State Papers; up to 1826 in the Land Laws, p. 1056; in the Executive Papers published since 1826;—and up to 1837 in the Collection of Indian Treaties published at Washington in that year. [A list of the Indian lands in each State and Territory in 1825, may be found in the American State Papers, vi. 545.

Upon the 31st of January the Ohio Assembly passed a law “authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting lake Erie with the Ohio river by a canal.”†

This act grew out of events, a sketch of which we think it may be worth while to present.

One of the earliest modern navigable canals was made in Lombardy in 1271; it connected Milan with the Tesino. About the same time, or perhaps earlier, similar works were commenced in Holland. It was not, however, till 1755 that

\* See “state of the case for appellants, &c. (Cincinnati, 1823,) pp. 3, 5, 7.—Report of Ohio Legislature in American State Papers, xxi, 646, 647, 653, 654. Chase’s Sketches, 43, 44. Chase’s Statutes, ii, 1072, 1185, 1193.

† See Canal Documents published by Kilbourn, p. 26.





any enterprize of the kind was undertaken in England; this was followed, three years later, by the Duke of Bridgewater's first canal constructed by Brindley. In 1765, an act of Parliament authorized the great work by which Brindley and his patron proposed to unite Hull and Liverpool:—the Trent and the Mersey. This great undertaking was completed in 1777. The idea thus carried into effect in Great Britain was soon borne across the Atlantic. The great New York canal was suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in 1777; but, as early as 1774, Washington tells us that he had thought of a system of improvements by which to connect the Atlantic with the Ohio; which system, ten years later, he tried most perseveringly to induce Virginia to act upon with energy. In a letter to Gov. Harrison, written October 10th, 1784, he also suggests that an examination be made as to the facilities for opening a communication, through the Cuyahoga, and Muskingum or Scioto, between lake Erie and the Ohio. Such a communication had been previously mentioned by Jefferson in March, 1784; he even proposed a canal to connect the Cuyahoga and Big Beaver. Three years later, Washington attempted to interest the federal government in his views, and exerted himself, by all the means in his power, to learn the exact state of the country about the sources of the Muskingum and Cuyahoga. After he was called to the Presidency, his mind was employed on other subjects; but the whites who had meantime began to people the West, used the course which he had suggested, (as the Indians had done before them,) to carry goods from the lakes to the settlements on the Ohio; so that it was soon known definitely, that upon the summit level were ponds, through which, in a wet season, a complete water connection was formed between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum.\*

From this time the public mind underwent various changes; more and more persons becoming convinced that a canal between the heads of two rivers was far less desirable, in every point of view, than a complete canal communication from place to place, following the valleys of the rivers, and drawing water from them. In 1815, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, proposed a canal from some point on the Great Miami to the

\* Penny Cyclopædia, article "Canal." American State Papers, xx. 832 to 834. Sparks' Washington, ix. 63.



city in which he resided; and in January, 1818, Mr., afterwards Governor Brown, writes thus: "Experience, the best guide, has tested the infinite superiority of this mode of commercial intercourse over the best roads, or any navigation of the beds of small rivers. In comparing it with the latter, I believe you will find the concurrent testimony of the most skilful and experienced Engineers of France and England, against the river, and in favor of the canal, for very numerous reasons."

Meanwhile, along the Atlantic, various experiments had been tried, both in regard to improving rivers and digging canals. In October, 1784, Virginia, acting under the instigation of Washington, passed a law "for clearing and improving the navigation of James river:" in March 1792, New York established two companies for "Inland Lock Navigation;" the one to connect the Hudson with lake Champlain, the other to unite it with lake Ontario, whence another canal was to rise round the Great Falls to Erie. These enterprises, and various others, were presented to Congress by Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in an elaborate report made April 4th, 1808. Subsequent to this report, in April, 1811, the General Assembly of New York passed a law for the Great Erie canal, and at the head of the Commissioners was Gouverneur Morris, who had proposed the plan thirty-four years previous. To aid her in this vast work, New York asked the power of the Federal Government, and Ohio passed resolutions in favor of the aid being given. No great help, however, was given; and New York with the strength imparted by the energy of Clinton, carried through her vast work; and when Ohio began to speak of similar efforts, through the same voice that had encouraged her during her labors, the Empire State spoke encouragement to her younger sister.\*

When, therefore, Governor Brown in his inaugural address of December 14, 1818, referred to the necessity of providing cheaper ways to market for the farmers of Ohio, he spoke to a people not unprepared to respond favorably. In accordance with the Governor's suggestion, Mr. Sill, on the 7th of January, 1819, moved that a committee be appointed to report on the expediency of a canal from the lake to the Ohio:

\* Report of Mr. Gallatin of 1803, found in the American State Papers, xx 793 to 804 - also see same, pp. 791 to 789; do. 769 to 780; do. 724 to 921. Vol. xxi. 165, 166, 178.



this was followed on the next day by a further communication from Governor Brown, and the subject was discussed through the winter. In the following December the Executive again pressed the matter, and in January, 1820, made a full statement of facts relating to routes, so far as they could be ascertained. Farther information was communicated in February, and on the 20th of that month, an act passed, appointing Commissioners to determine the course of the proposed canal, provided Congress would aid in its construction, and seeking aid from Congress. That aid not having been given, nothing was done during 1820 or 1821, except to excite and extend an interest in the subject, but upon the 3d of January, 1822, Micajah Williams, chairman of a committee to consider that part of the Governor's message relating to Internal Improvements, offered an elaborate report upon the subject; and brought in the bill to which we have already referred as having been passed upon the 31st of the last mentioned month.\*

The examination authorized by that law was at once commenced, Mr. James Geddes being the engineer.

Upon the same day, (December 6, 1821,) on which Mr. Williams moved for a committee on canals, Caleb Atwater moved for one upon schools; and on the same day that the law above referred to was passed, one was also passed authorizing the appointment of Commissioners to report to the next Legislature a plan for establishing a complete system of Common Schools. To the history of that subject we next ask the reader's attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided, that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged." In the previous Ordinance of 1785, regulating the sale of lands in the west, section No. 16 of every township was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." And the Constitution of Ohio, using the words of the Ordinance of 1787, says, that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provision." In accordance with the feelings shown in these several clauses, the Governors of Ohio

\* The messages, resolutions, reports and laws, are all in the "Public Documents concerning the Ohio canals," compiled and published by John Kilbourn, Columbus, 1828: p. 2 to p. 31.



always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages; but nothing was done to make it general.\* It was supposed, that people would not willingly be taxed to educate the children of their poor neighbors; not so much because they failed to perceive the necessity that exists for all to be educated, in order that the commonwealth may be safe and prosperous; but because a vast number, that lived in Ohio, still doubted whether Ohio would be their ultimate abiding place. They came to the west to make money rather than to find a home, and did not care to help educate those whose want of education they might never feel.

Such was the state of things until about the year 1816, at which time several persons in Cincinnati, who knew the benefits of a free-school system, united, and commenced a correspondence with different portions of the State. Their ideas being warmly responded to, by the dwellers in the Ohio Company's purchase, and the Western Reserve more particularly, committees of correspondence were appointed in the different sections, and various means were resorted to, to call the attention of the public to the subject; among the most efficient of which was the publication of an *Education Almanac* at Cincinnati. This work was edited by Nathan Guilford, a lawyer of that place, who had from the first taken a deep interest in the matter. For several years this gentleman and his associates labored silently and ceaselessly to diffuse their sentiments, one attempt only being made to bring the subject into the legislature: this was in December 1819, when Ephraim Cutler, of Washington county, brought in a bill for establishing common schools, which was lost in the Senate.†—At length, in 1821, it having been clearly ascertained, that a strong feeling existed in favor of a common school system through the eastern and north-eastern parts of the State, and it being also known that the western men, who were then about to bring forward their canal schemes, wished to secure the assistance of their less immediately benefited fellow-citizens, it was thought to be a favorable time to bring the free

\*See especially Governor Worthington's message, and that of 1819 in particular.

† Atwater's History, 254. In speaking of common schools, we mean always free schools established upon a State system. In January, 1821, a law was passed in Ohio, authorizing Township Common Schools in which the tuition, &c., was to be paid by those parents who were able to pay. See Chase, ii. 1176.





school proposition forward ; which, as we have stated above, was done by Mr. Atwater.

On the 3d of January, 1823, Mr. Worthington, on behalf of the Canal Commissioners, presented a report upon the best route for a canal through the State, and a farther examination was agreed upon ;\* which was made during the year.

The friends of the common school system continued their efforts, and although they did not succeed in procuring an assembly favorable to their views, they diffused information and brought out inquiry.†

Michigan during this year was invested with a new form of Territorial Government ; Congress having authorized the appointment of a Legislative Council of nine members, to be chosen by the President from eighteen candidates elected by the people.‡

In 1824, the friends of canals, and those of free common schools in Ohio, finding a strong opposition still existing to the great plans of improvement offered to the people, during this year strained every nerve to secure an Assembly in which, by union, both measures might be carried. Information was diffused and interest excited by every means that could be suggested, and the autumn elections were in consequence such as to ensure the success of the two bills which were to lay the foundation of so much physical and intellectual good to Ohio.||

The subject of civilizing the Indians was taken up as early as July, 1789, and was kept constantly in view by the United States Government from that time forward ; in 1819, ten thousand dollars annually were appropriated by Congress to that purpose, and great pains were taken to see that they were wisely expended.§ In March of this year a report was made by Mr. McLean, of Ohio, upon the proposition to stop the appropriation above named ; against this proposition he reported decidedly, and gave a favorable view of what had been done, and what might be hoped for.¶

\* Ohio Canal Documents, 31 to 53.

† Atwater's History, 262.

‡ Lanman's Michigan, 227.

|| See the names of the members of the Ohio Assembly for 1844-5, and their votes, in Atwater, 363.

§ See American State Papers, vols. v. and vi. indexes. See particularly vi. 646 to 654.

¶ American State Papers, vi. 457 to 459.



Upon the 4th of February, 1825, a law was passed by Ohio, authorizing the making of two canals, one from the Ohio to Lake Erie, by the valleys of the Scioto and Muskingum; the other from Cincinnati to Dayton; and a canal fund was created: the vote in the House in favor of the law was 58 to 13, in the Senate 34 to 2\*.

Upon the day following, the law to provide for a system of common schools was also passed by large majorities.†

These two laws were carried by the union of the friends of each, and by the unremitting efforts of a few public spirited men.

[The first edition of these Annals, compiled by the late Mr. Perkins, contains a lapse from 1825 to 1832. The remainder, four pages, 560 to 564, is confined almost wholly to events in Illinois and Missouri, which the editor is expected to give with more accuracy and in detail. We therefore close the body of the work here and proceed to the Appendix.]

\* Ohio Canal Documents, 158 to 166. Chase, ii. 1472.

† Chase, ii. 1466.



# APPENDIX.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ANNALS OF UPPER LOUISIANA.

**Explorations and Discoveries.**—Historical Sketch of the Lead Mines.—French Settlement in Illinois.—State of the country under British domination.

A number of facts pertaining to Louisiana, and especially the Upper District, have been reserved for the APPENDIX, that they may appear in consecutive order, and be convenient for reference. These we shall group under particular heads, and subdivided by sections.

#### SECTION FIRST.

##### *Explorations and Discoveries.*

During the short administration of D'Iberville, (Annals, pp. 56, 58,) more than sixty persons perished with disease and famine, so that at the close of the year 1705, the colony was reduced to one hundred and fifty persons.

Feeble as was the colony, attempts were made to explore new and distant regions. In the year 1700, M. de St. Dennis, with twelve Canadians and several Indians, made a voyage of discovery up Red River. After a tiresome expedition of six months, the party returned without gaining any material information concerning the Indian tribes on the Upper Red River.

The same year Bienville, with a party, ascended the same river to Bayou Pierre, visited the villages of the Yattersee Indians, and on the same excursion explored the Washita.—The next year both these rivers were more fully explored by St. Dennis, and in 1703, a settlement was made on the Washita. About the same period, another settlement, with a mission, was made on the Yazons.

St. Dennis, with ten men, made another and more extensive exploration up Red River, into Texas, for several hundred



miles, meeting with no settlements until he reached "the *Presidio*, or fortress of St. John the Baptist, on the Rio del Norte, in New Mexico." During this excursion St. Dennis, against the remonstrance of Don Diego Raymond, the commandant at the *Presidio*, pushed on to Mexico, and proposed a project of commercial intercourse between the French colony of the Mississippi and the Spanish colony in Mexico.\*

St. Dennis spent fourteen years in various explorations in Louisiana, Texas and Mexico. In 1716, he penetrated the interior the third time, with mules, horses and goods, from Nachitoches to Guadaloupe, in Texas, where the faithless Spaniards met him, took his goods and conveyed him to Mexico. Eventually he made his escape and came back by the *Presidio*.†

Amongst the early explorers of Louisiana, we must not omit the name of *Bernard de la Harpe*. Major Stoddard was so fortunate as to find the original journal of this gentleman, in manuscript, and communicated it to the Department of State.

La Harpe, with a body of troops, ascended Red River to the village of the Cadoques, in 1719, and built a fort which he called *St. Louis de Carlorette*. A correspondence was opened between him and the Spanish commandant, and also the Superior of the Missions in Texas. The Spanish officers expressed a desire to be at peace with the French, but claimed that the post La Harpe occupied, was within the Spanish territory. La Harpe replied that the Spaniards well knew the post on Red River was not within the dominions of Spain; that the province they called Texas, formed a part of Louisiana; that La Salle had discovered and taken possession of it in 1685, and that this possession had been renewed at various times since that period; that the Spanish adventurer, *Don Antonio du Miroir*, who discovered the northern provinces in 1683, never penetrated east of New Mexico, or the Rio Bravo, [Rio del Norte;] that the French were the first to make alliances with the Indian nations; that the rivers flowed into the Mississippi, consequently the lands between them belonged to France; and that if he would do him the pleasure of a visit, he would find that he occupied a post which he knew

\* Du Pratz Louisiana, pp. 7, 12. Stoddard's Sketches, p. 27.

† Du Pratz, 12.





how to defend. The contest ended with this correspondence, and the post established by La Harpe, was maintained by the French until Louisiana fell into the hands of Spain after the treaty of 1762.

M. de la Harpe, in 1720, with half a dozen soldiers, a few Indians, and eleven horses, loaded with goods and provisions, made an excursion from his post on Red river, to the Washita and Arkansas rivers. He met with a friendly reception from the Indians, took possession of the country, and hoisted the flag of France. He sold his goods profitably, and then floated down the Arkansas in perogues to the Mississippi, and reached Biloxi through Bayou Manchac, and lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain. On the Arkansas, La Harpe describes an Indian village of three miles in extent, containing upwards of four thousand inhabitants. He describes it as situated about one hundred and twenty miles south-west of the Osages.

Various attempts had been made by the French to establish a colony on the bay of St. Bernard, without success. In 1721, La Harpe, under royal orders, embarked at New Orleans with a detachment of troops, engineers and draftsmen, to take a more accurate survey of the bay and country than his predecessors had done. He found eleven and a half feet of water on the bar at the entrance, and surveyed four large rivers that entered it. He described the soil along the coast as extremely fertile, and the country beautifully variegated with woods, prairies, and streams of pure water. This bay is now known as Galveston.

Another explorer was named *M. Dutisne*. He was sent out to explore the country of the Missouris, Osages, and Panoucas. He ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of Saline river, about twenty miles below Ste. Genevieve, and from thence traveled westward, over a rocky, broken and timbered country, as he reckoned, three hundred and fifty miles, to the principal village of the *Osages*. This village he describes as situated on a hill five miles from the Osage river, and contained about one hundred cabins. These Indians spent but a small part of their time at their village, being engaged in hunting the other part.

The *Panoucas* [Poncas?] were in two villages, about one hundred and twenty miles west of the Osages, in a prairie country, abounding with buffaloes. Near them were three



hundred horses, which the Indians prized exceedingly. The *Paonis*, [Pawnees] were at the distance of four hundred and fifty miles. The village of the *Missouris* was situated three hundred and fifty yards from the river that bears their name. M. Dutisne took formal possession of the country in the name of the king of France, and erected posts with the king's arms as a testimony of their claim.\*

Another party under Lesueur, ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, which D'Akau and Hennepin had visited in 1680. [Annals, p. 39.] This was in 1702.

The party under Lesueur, then proceeded up the St. Peter's river, as they estimated, one hundred and twenty miles, and entered a stream they called Green river, near which they found a mine of copper and ochre. Here a fort was erected, and named *L'Huiller*, said by the party to be in north latitude 44 deg. 13 minutes. The Indians regarding this position as an encroachment on their rights, the party retired in the course of the year to the mouth of another small river, about one hundred miles above the Wisconsin, where they built another fort, and opened mines of copper. At still another place, about forty miles above the river St. Croix, they found considerable quantities of copper, and one piece that weighed sixty pounds. The Indians being hostile, they found it prudent to retreat, and abandon that remote country.†

The explorers next turned their attention up the Missouri, which they ascended in 1705, as far as the mouth of the Kansas river, and met with a friendly reception from the natives. Soon after they were engaged in a profitable trade with the Kansas and Missouries.

And here, probably, is the place to record an invasion of Missouri from the Spanish country.

The Spaniards of Mexico had been successful in their perfidy with St. Dennis in Texas, and in exciting the Assinais against the French on Red River. They knew the importance of the Missouri river, and were anxious to obtain a strong position on its border. They readily conceived that such a measure, if prosecuted successfully, would confine the claims of the French to the Illinois side of the Mississippi, and turn the current of the Indian trade up the Missouri. Their first ob-

\* Stoddard's Sketches, pp. 39 to 44.

† Stoddard, 27. Martin's Louisiana, i. 155.



ject was to conquer the Missouri nation, who lived on the bank of the Missouri river, a short distance above the mouth of the Kansas, and plant a colony at that place. These Indians were friendly to the French, and at that time were at war with the Pawnees, whom the Spaniards expected to enlist as their allies.

A numerous caravan to form a considerable colony, started from Santa Fe, in 1720, and marched in pursuit of the Pawnee villages; but they lost their way and made the unlucky blunder to get among the Missouries, whose destruction they meditated. Ignorant of the country and mistaking the Missouries for Pawnees, they communicated their object without reserve, and requested their co-operation. The Missouries manifested no surprise at this unexpected visit, and only requested time to assemble their warriors.

In forty-eight hours two thousand appeared in arms. They attacked the Spaniards in the night, and killed the whole party, except the priest, who succeeded in making his escape on horse-back. Some writers assert it was the Osages; but the records preserved in Santa Fe, authorize the statement here given.\*

This bold measure of the Spaniards, in penetrating into a country with which they had no acquaintance, for eight hundred miles from their own, apprized the French of danger, and prompted them to provide a defence in that quarter.—Accordingly, M de Bourgmont, was dispatched with a considerable force to take possession of an Island in the Missouri river, some distance above the mouth of the Osage river, on which he built Fort Orleans.

At that period the "Padoucas," whose country was north and west of the Missouries, were at war with the latter and their allies, the Kansas, Ottoes, Osages, "Aia-ouez" [Ioways] and Pani-Mahas. M. de Bourgmont, in 1724, made an extensive exploration from Fort Orleans, to the north-west, accompanied by a few French soldiers and a large party of friendly Indians. His object was a general peace amongst all these nations, and an extensive trade with them. In this enterprize he was successful. He set out on the 3rd of July, and returned to the fort on the 5th of November.†

\* Abbe Raynal's East and West Indies, v. p. 180. Stoddard's Sketches, 45, 46. Wetmore's Gazeteer, 199.

† Du Pratz, from Bourgmont's Journal, pp. 63 to 74.



Soon after this event, probably the next year, Fort Orleans was attacked and entirely destroyed by the Indians, the French were all massacred, but it was never known by whom this bloody work was performed. From this time troubles of a serious nature began with the Indians, which lasted sixteen years.\*

In 1723, La Harpe, with an exploring party, left the Yazoo river, on the 15th February, and ascended the Mississippi, and then the Arkansas, until he reached a village of the Arkansas Indians, where he found a Frenchman by the name of Duboulay, who with a party, was stationed here to protect these Indians and the French traders. La Harpe then proceeded to "Law's grant," which lay N. N. W. from the village, on the right side of the river. Here was a settlement of about "thirty persons, of all ages and sexes," who had a small clearing sown with wheat.† Other explorations will come in, in connection with the lead mines.

#### SECTION SECOND.

##### *Historical Sketch of the Mines of Missouri.*

The grant of the fancied gold and silver mines of the Mississippi, and the monstrous banking scheme of John Law, have already been sufficiently noticed. [Annals, pp. 59, 60.]

The retrocession of this privilege by Crozat to the crown of France, was immediately followed by granting letters patent to "*The Company of the West*," an association of individuals at Paris. This company had exclusive privileges to the commerce of Louisiana, and working the mines, with the right of disposal of the lands. The project of an exploration for minerals was started in France. Gold, silver and diamonds, — not the paltry gatherings of lead, copper and iron, — were the objects sought. The most liberal inducements to French emigrants, especially miners and mechanics, were held out, and *Phillip Francis Renault*, as the agent and manager of "*the Company of St. Phillips*," came out. This company was a branch of the Company of the West, for prosecuting the mining business in Upper Louisiana. He left France in 1719, with 200 mechanics, miners and laborers, and provided with all things necessary to prosecute the objects of the company.

\*Stoddard, 46.

†Martin, i. 250.





At St. Domingo, he bought five hundred slaves for working the mines, which he brought to Illinois, where he arrived in 1720.

Renault established himself and his colony a few miles above Kaskaskia, in what is now the south-west corner of Monroe county, and called the village he founded St. Phillips. Great excitement existed in France at the prospective success of Renault, and large expectations were entertained in returns of gold and silver, all which resulted in woful disappointment.

From this point he sent out his mining and exploring parties into various sections of Illinois and Upper Louisiana, as Missouri was then called. Excavations for minerals were made along Drewry's creek in Jackson county, about the St. Mary in Randolph county, in Monroe county, along Silver creek in St. Clair county, and many other places in Illinois, the remains of which are still visible. Silver creek took its name from the explorers, and tradition states that considerable quantities of silver ore was raised and sent over to France. It is thought, however, that no successful discoveries were made.

In Missouri, the exploring and mining parties were headed by M. La Motte, an agent said to have been well versed in the knowledge of mining. In one of his earliest excursions, he discovered the lead mines on the St. Francois, which bears his name.

Renault made various discoveries of lead, and made considerable excavations at the mines north of Potosi, Mo., that still bear his name; but the company were entirely disappointed in all their high raised expectations of finding gold and silver.

Renault finally turned his whole attention to the smelting of lead, of which he made considerable quantities. It was conveyed from the interior on pack horses to the Mississippi river, sent to New Orleans in perogues, and from thence shipped to France.

The operations of Renault were retarded and checked from a quarter least expected. The French King at Paris, in May, 1719, issued an edict by which the "Company of the West" was united to the East India and China Company, under the title of the Royal Company of the Indies; (*La Compagnie Royale des Indes*.) And in 1731, the whole territory was re-



troceded to the crown of France; the objects of the company (including the monster bank of John Law,) [Annals, 59, 60,] totally failed, and Renault was left to prosecute the mining business without means.

The explorations for mineral treasures extended to the banks of the Ohio and Kentucky rivers, and to the Cumberland Valley, in Tennessee, and even to the mountain range between the eastern waters and those of the Mississippi Valley.—“French Lick,” now Nashville, was a rallying point in those early days, and subsequently became a trading post of the French, long before the pioneers from Virginia and North Carolina visited that range.

The exertions of Renault on behalf of the “Company of the West,” and his claims for services, were not passed over by the government. Four grants of land, already noticed, were made, covering large tracts of country, and which bear date June 14th, 1723, but whether legal, has not been decided.

One of these was at “*Old Piora*,” on the Illinois river, said to embrace a copper-mine, the discovery of which was the consideration. Another large tract included Fort Chartres, and the village of St. Phillips, (called also *Little Village*,) in the south-west corner of Monroe county, Illinois, and extends back from the river beyond the bluffs, known still as the “Renault Grant.”

He continued in the Illinois country many years after the explosion of the “Mississippi bubble.” After disposing of his slaves, (or those of the company,) to the French inhabitants in Illinois, he returned to his native country, in 1744.\* Thus ended the first series of efforts at mining in Illinois and Missouri.

Very little was done in the way of mining under the Spanish government. As settlements increased, after a lapse of years, some new discoveries were made and operations for lead resumed. The most important and principal discovery, made under Spanish authority, was *Mine a Burton*, which took its name from a Frenchman who, while hunting in that quarter, found the ore lying on the surface of the ground. It is impossible now to fix the exact date of this discovery, as Mr. Burton, when living in 1819, could not then recollect.

\* Schoolcraft's View of the Mines, New York, 1819, pp. 14 to 17. American State Papers, ii. 162.



only it was about *forty years* previous. This would make the discovery to have been about 1780.

It is here pertinent to the design of this work, to introduce the following sketch of the life of M. Burton, as drawn from personal knowledge, by Col. Thos. H. Benton, of St. Louis, who saw Burton, and gathered the facts from him and his friends. The article is to be found in the "St. Louis Enquirer," of October 16th, 1818.

"He is a Frenchman from the north of France. In the forepart of the last century, he served in the low countries under the orders of Marshal Saxe. He was at the siege of *Bergen op-zoom*, and assisted in the assault of that place when it was assailed by a division of Marshal Saxe's army, under the command of Count Lowendahl. He has also seen service upon the continent. He was at the building of Fort Chartres, on the American bottom, afterwards went to Fort Du Quesne, (now Pittsburgh) and was present at Braddock's defeat. From the life of a soldier, Burton passed to that of a hunter, and in that character, about half a century ago, while pursuing a bear to the west of the Mississippi, he discovered the rich lead mines which have borne his name ever since. His present age cannot be ascertained. He was certainly an *old soldier* at Fort Chartres, when some of the people of the present day were little children at that place. The most moderate computation will make him one hundred and six. He now lives in the family of Mr. Micheaux, at the Little Rock ferry, three miles above Ste. Genevieve, and walks to that village almost every Sunday to attend Mass. He is what we call a square built man, of five feet eight inches high, full chest and forehead; his sense of seeing and hearing somewhat impaired, but free from disease, and apparently able to hold out against time for many years to come."

So far as the process of mining was pursued under the Spanish government, it appears to have been rude and imperfect, and not more than fifty per cent. of lead obtained from the ore. The common open log furnace was the only kind employed in smelting, and the *lead-ashes* were thrown away as useless.

In 1797, the late Moses Austin, Esq., a native of Connecticut, and who had been engaged in mining in Wythe county, Va., arrived in Upper Louisiana, visited and explored the country about Mine a Burton, and obtained a grant of land of one league square, from the Spanish authorities, in considera-



tion of erecting a reverberatory furnace and other works for prosecuting the mining business at those mines.\*

Associated with Mr. Austin, was his son Stephen F. Austin, who, in 1798, commenced operations, erected a suitable furnace for smelting the "ashes of lead," and sunk the first regular shaft for raising ore. These improvements revived the mining business, and drew to the country many American families, who settled in the neighborhood of the mines. The next year a shot-tower was built on the pinnacle of the cliff near Herculaneum, under the superintendence of Mr. Elias Bates, and patent shot were made. A manufactory of sheet lead was completed the same year, and the Spanish arsenals at New Orleans and Havana, received a considerable part of their supplies for the Spanish navy from these mines.

The enterprizing Americans soon discovered *Mine Robina*, *Mine a Martin*, and several others, and at the period of the annexation of the territory to the United States, the mines were extensively and advantageously worked. We give in connection, the names and localities of the principal mines worked under the Spanish government.

#### *Mincs.*

#### *Locality.*

Mine La Motte, - - - - Head of St. Francis river.

Mine a Joe, - - - - On Flat river.

Mine a Burton, (now Potosi, on a branch of Mineral Fork.)

Old Mines, - - - - On Mineral Fork.

Renault's Mines, on Fourche a Renault, a branch of Mineral Fork.

In a few years after the cession, Shibboleth, New Diggings, Labaume's, Bryan's, and several other mines were discovered and opened.

These mines attracted the attention of the American government at the earliest period, and measures were taken by General Wilkinson to ascertain the situation and extent of the mines; their annual product; the manner of working them; and such other information as was necessary to the action of government.

Copper mines were discovered on the Merrimac river, by the mineralogical explorers under Renault and La Motte.

\* Howe's Virginia, Wythe county, p. 515. Schoolcraft's Lead Mines, p. 19.





Several attempts were made to work them, but from some cause they were not successful in separating the metal from the slag.

The richest mines, both of lead and copper, were discovered on the Upper Mississippi. They have yielded from eighty to ninety per cent. of pure lead.

In 1786, Julien Dubuque, an enterprising Canadian, visited this region, explored its mineral wealth, returned two years after, and, at a council held with the Indians in 1788, obtained from them a grant of a large tract of land, amounting to 140,000 acres, beginning on the West side of the Mississippi.

Here he resided, and obtained great wealth in mining and trading with the Indians, and died in 1810. His grave is about one mile below the city of Dubuque, in the State of Iowa.

The mines of the Upper Mississippi, are between Rock and Wisconsin rivers on the east, and about the same parallel on the west side of that river.

For many years the Indians and some of the French *courriers du bois*, had been accustomed to dig led in the mineral region about Galena. But they never penetrated much below the surface, though they obtained considerable quantities of mineral.

In 1823, the late Colonel James Johnson, of Kentucky, obtained a lease from the United States' government, to prosecute the business of mining and smelting, which he did with a strong force and much enterprize. This movement attracted the attention of enterprising men in Illinois, Missouri, and other States. Some went on in 1826, more following in 1827, and in 1827, the country was almost literally filled with miners, smelters, merchants, speculators, gamblers, and every description of character. Intelligence, enterprise, and virtue, were thrown in the midst of dissipation, gambling, and every species of vice. Such was the crowd of adventurers in 1829, to this hitherto almost unknown and desolate region, that the lead business was greatly overdone, and the market for a while nearly destroyed. Fortunes were made almost upon a turn of a spade, and lost with equal facility. The business is prosecuted to a great extent. Exhaustless quantities of mineral exist here, over a tract of country two hundred miles in extent.

From 1821, to September, 1823, the amount of lead made in the vicinity of Galena, Illinois, was 335,130 pounds. Dur-



ing the next succeeding ten years, the aggregate was about seventy millions of pounds.

The average number of miners during the year 1825, was 100; in 1826, 400; and in 1827, 1,600. Many citizens of Illinois, from the counties of St. Clair, Madison, &c., went up the river with supplies of provision in the spring, to prosecute mining, and returned downward and homeward at the approach of winter. From this trifling incident, a mischievous wag from "Yankeedom," ycleped the people of Illinois, "Suckers," from these migratory miners.

Copper, in considerable quantities, is now raised and smelted on the Upper Mississippi.

### SECTION THIRD.

#### *French Settlements in Illinois.*

The exact date of the first permanent settlements in Illinois, cannot now be ascertained, unless we regard the trading post of Crevecœur, near the present site of Peoria, as the first, and there is no evidence that this remained a continuous, and therefore permanent station. [See Annals, p. 39.]

Cahokia, (called in early times, "*Notre Dame des Kahokias*,") from probable evidence appears to have been a trading post and mission station earlier than Kaskaskia. We find no evidence to sustain the statement of the author, whose very imperfect and incongruous work has been attributed to Tonti, that La Salle, on his return from his exploration of the Lower Mississippi, left colonies at these places. It is inferred from a variety of circumstances, that both Cahokia and Kaskaskia were settled by traders and missionaries, as early, if not previous, to 1690.

Father Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, and a companion of La Salle, appears to have been the first at Kaskaskia. It is possible he, in company with some traders, laid the foundation of Kaskaskia, and, if so, its priority to Cahokia, is decided. Father Gravier succeeded Allouez about 1690, and the station was called "The Village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin."

About the period of Father Gravier, two missionaries, Pinet and Binniteu, came to the country. It is stated on respectable authority, that Father Pinet founded Cahokia, and was successful in converting a large number of the aborigines.



His chapel could accommodate only a part of the multitude that resorted to mass. The indians were of the Cahokia and Tamaroas tribes, two branches of the confederacy of the Illinois.

Binniteu followed the tribe to which he was attached, to their hunting grounds in the interior, where he died with a fever. Pinet soon after died, and Gabriel Marest joined the Illinois missions, and for some time appears to have had the whole under his charge.

Whatever may be thought of the doctrines they taught, or their mode of converting Indians, by Protestants, (a question not necessary to be discussed in this work,) they were a heroic, devoted, self-sacrificing class of men. Their journals as found in that curious and instructive work, "*Letters Edifiantes et Curieuses*," (Curious and Edifying Letters,) give abundant proof of this fact, as they do of the general topography of the country, and the number, position and characteristics of the Indian tribes.

Father Marest, in his correspondence says: "Our life is passed in rambling through thick woods, in climbing over hills, in paddling the canoes across lakes and rivers, to catch a poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can neither tame by teachings nor caresses."

Sebastian Rasles, (or Rale, as given in his life in Sparks' biography,) came to Illinois in 1692. He embarked at Quebec the 13th of August, 1691, spent the winter at Michillimackinac, and reached Kaskaskia the following spring. A letter before us gives an interesting description of the manners and customs of the Illinois Indians. He gives a description of the Indian mode of torturing their prisoners, and says: "It was the Iroquois that invented this frightful mode of putting captives to death, and it is but just that the Illinois should repay them in the same way." Rather strange morality for a religious teacher.

It is but just, however, to give these missionaries in Illinois the credit of putting an end to the torture of prisoners among the tribes under their immediate instruction.

On the difficulties of christianizing the Indians of Illinois, we give the following extract from the communication of Father Rasle, as translated from the "*Lettres Edifiantes*," by John Russell, Esq.



"That which we call christianity, is known among the Indians only by the word *Prayer*. When in my letters I say such and such tribes have embraced the *Prayer*, you are to understand that they have become christianized. There would be infinitely less difficulty in converting the Illinois, if religion and polygamy could go together. The Indians are extremely pleased with having me convert their wives and children; but when I talk to them they show their native inconstancy, and say they cannot think of being compelled to have but one wife and to keep that one always.

At the hour of Matins and Vespers *all* the Indians, young and old, attend in the chapel. All the children, except those of the Powows [*Jongleurs*,] are baptized. The *jongleurs* are the greatest enemies to religion. It is in the baptism of the infants that the great fruits of our labor are manifest, for all of these children do not die in infancy, and those who grow up to adult age, are zealous, and would sooner die than renounce their religion. It is a happy thing for the Illinois that they are so far from Quebec, for now brandy cannot be so easily brought to them as to other tribes of Canada. This drink is the grand obstacle to christianizing the Indians, and the source of infinite crimes.

Father Rasle continued in Illinois two years, when he was recalled by the Superior and stationed among the Abenakis in Maine, where himself and Indian converts were barbarously massacred by a party of New Englanders.\*

Charlevoix, in a series of letters addressed to the Duchess Lesdiguières, entitled "*Journal of a Voyage to North America*,"\* writes from Kaskaskia, October 20th, 1721, as follows about Cahokia:—

"We lay last night in a village of the *Caoquias* and the *Tamarous*, two Illinois tribes which have been united, and together compose no very numerous canton. This village is situated on a very small river which runs from the east, and has no water but in the spring season, so that we were obliged to walk half a league, before we could get to our cabins. I was astonished they had pitched upon so inconvenient a situation, especially as they had so many better in their choice.— But I was told the Mississippi washed the foot of that village when it was built; that in three years it had lost half a league of its breadth, and that they were thinking of seeking out for another habitation, which is no great affair among the Indians.

"I passed the night in the missionaries' house, who are two ecclesiastics from the Seminary of Quebec, formerly my disciples, but they must now be my masters.

\* See his *Life in Spark's Biography*, second series.





M. Taumur, the eldest of the two, was absent; but I found the youngest, M. le Mercier, such as he had been represented to me, rigid to himself, full of charity to others, and displaying in his own person, an amiable pattern of virtue."

Of Kaskaskia and the mission there, Father Charlevoix says, (p 221.)

"Yesterday I arrived at Kaskasquias about nine o'clock in the morning. The Jesuits have here a very flourishing mission, which has lately been divided into two, thinking it convenient to have two cantons of Indians instead of one. The most numerous is on the banks of the Mississippi, of which two Jesuits have the spiritual direction: half a league below stands Fort Chartres, about the distance of a musket shot from the river. M. de Boisbrilliard, a gentleman of Canada, commands here for the company, to whom this place belongs; the French are now beginning to settle the country between this fort and the first mission. Four leagues farther and about a league from the river, is a large village inhabited by the French, who are almost all Canadians and have a Jesuit for their curate. The second village of the Illinois lies farther up the country, at the distance of two leagues from this last, and is under the charge of a fourth Jesuit.

The French in this place live pretty much at their ease; a Fleming, who was a domestic of the Jesuits, has taught them to sow wheat which succeeds very well. They have black cattle and poultry. The Illinois on their part manure the ground after their fashion, and are very laborious. They likewise bring up poultry, which they sell to the French. Their women are very neat-handed and industrious. They spin the wool of the buffalo, which they make as fine as that of the English sheep; nay sometimes it might even be mistaken for silk. Of this they manufacture stuffs which are dyed black, yellow, or a deep red. Of these stuffs they make robes which they sew with thread made of the sinews of the roe-buck.—The manner of making this thread is very simple. After stripping the flesh from the sinews of the roe-buck, they expose them to the sun for the space of two days: after they are dry they beat them, and then without difficulty draw out a thread as white and as fine as that of Mechlin, but much stronger."

Besides those already mentioned, between the years 1680 and 1700, we find the names of Gabriel de la Ribourdieu and Zenobe Mambre, as missionaries in Illinois. A congregation composed of a few Frenchmen, and, probably, some Indians, especially females, was collected near Fort St. Louis, on the "Great Rock." This was on the Illinois river a few miles be-



low the present site of Ottawa. The traders generally married Indian wives and lived in amity with them. The success in converting Indians, even to the Catholic faith, was not great, for Father Gravier mentions only seven persons as baptized, in his register of baptisms among the Indians, from the 20th of March, 1695, to the 22nd of February, 1699.\*

In the year 1718, the Directors of the Company of the West, sent M. de Boisbriant, with a small military force, to establish a post near Kaskaskia, and the same year he began a fortification called *Fort Chartres*. (This is probably the same officer Charlevoix names Boisbrilliard.) What rule of military engineering was his guide in fixing the site on the American bottom, three miles from the quarry of rock, "a musket shot from the river," and on ground subject to inundation, we cannot conjecture. A more unfortunate location could not have been selected. Some historians have stated that this fort was constructed for a defence against Spanish aggression. But at the period it was commenced, no Spanish post existed nearer than Santa Fe, and no one dreamed of an attack from that quarter. The object was protection to the villages and the mining companies about to be sent forth, from any hostile demonstrations of the Indians.

The plan of the structure erected by M. Boisbriant is unknown to the writer. Another structure built on the same site in 1756, will be noticed in the next section.

During the years of 1718 and 1719, the French settlements of Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, were increased by immigration from Canada, and from France by the way of New Orleans. M. Renault, as has been noticed in the preceding section, brought with him a large number of European adventurers, and 500 slaves from the West Indies.

On the 2nd of September, 1721, the council deputed by the King of France, for the government of the Royal Company of the Indies, enacted a series of articles, regulating trade, commerce, and even prices. This ordinance may be found in Dillon's *Indiana*, volume i. pages 40, 44.

The trade and commerce of Louisiana was monopolized by the Company of the Indies, and for the upper district the factory or stone house was established at Fort Chartres. The commandant of that post, M. Pierre Duque Boisbriant, the re-

\* Dillon's *Indiana*, i. 27.



presentative of the crown, and the Commissary of Company, or "Principal Secretary," Marc Antoine de la Loire De Ursins, jointly acted in granting lands.

The oldest on record of which we are aware, is a grant made on the 10th of May, 1722,\* to Charles Danie. The next is on the 22nd of June, the same year, at which time Broisbriant and Des Ursins made a grant to the missionaries of Cahokia and Tamarois, "a tract of four leagues of land square," (as expressed in the grant,) bounded on the west side of the Mississippi, including the adjacent islands, beginning a "quarter of a league above the little river of Cahokia," and extending south and east for quantity. This grant was in fee simple, and from it have emanated the titles to the village tract and common fields of Cahokia.†

In the Annals, page 195, we mentioned the concealment or destruction of papers by Madame Rocheblave, the Governor's wife, when Kaskaskia was taken by General Clark. It is supposed that many of the grants and concessions perished at this or some other period.

There are no events of material importance in the records of history, from the dissolution of the Company of the Indies, until the war between England and France of 1756; the year in which Fort Chartres was rebuilt, a sketch of which is contained in the next section. The male population of the country, in addition to the cultivation of their farms, were the *voyageurs* on the rivers, and the *courieurs des bois* in the trading expeditions.

The leaders in all the French colonies on the Mississippi, were gentlemen of education and energy of character, while the large majority were illiterate *paysans*, who possessed little property and less enterprize.

But they were a contented race, patient under hardships, unambitious, ignorant of the prolific resources, and destitute of the least perception of its future destiny. They never troubled themselves with the affairs of government, never indulged in schemes of aggrandizement, nor showed the least inclination for political domination. They were a frank, open-hearted, unsuspicious, joyous people, careless of the acquisition of property.

\* American State Papers, Public Lands, ii. 164.

† American State Papers, ii. 167.



The following truthful and graphic sketch we copy from "Sketches of the West," by James Hall, Esq.

They made no attempt to acquire land from the Indians, to organize a social system, to introduce municipal regulations, or to establish military defences; but cheerfully obeyed the priests and the king's officers, and enjoyed the present, without troubling their heads about the future. They seem to have been even careless as to the acquisition of property, and its transmission to their heirs. Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessities of life could be procured with little labor, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute nor personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace, and comfortable poverty. They took possession of so much of the vacant land around them, as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude; and even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry, and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the *march of mind*, or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury, which has not been practised among the English or American first settlers; but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessities of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement.

The only new articles which the French adopted, in consequence of their change of residence, were those connected with the fur trade. The few who were engaged in merchandise, turned their attention almost exclusively to the traffic with the Indians, while a large number became hunters and boatmen. The *voyageurs*, *engagées*, and *couriers des bois*, as they are called, form a peculiar race of men. They were active, sprightly, and remarkably expert in their vocation. With all the vivacity of the French character, they have little of the intemperance and brutal coarseness usually found among the boatmen and mariners. They are patient under fatigue, and endure an astonishing degree of toil and exposure to weather. Accustomed to live in the open air, they pass through every extreme, and all the sudden vicissitudes of climate, with little apparent inconvenience. Their boats are managed with expertness, and even grace, and their toil enlivened by the song. As hunters, they have roved over the whole of the wide plain of the west, to the Rocky Mountains, sharing the hospitality of the Indians, abiding for long periods, and even permanently, with the tribes, and sometimes seeking their alliance by marriage. As boatmen, they navi-





gate the birch canoe to the sources of the longest rivers, and pass from one river to another, by laboriously carrying the packages of merchandise, and the boat itself, across mountains, or through swamps or woods, so that no obstacle stops their progress. Like the Indian, they can live on game, without condiment or bread; like him they sleep in the open air, or plunge into the water at any season, without injury.

The French had also a fort on the Ohio, about thirty-six miles above the junction of that river with the Mississippi, of which the Indians obtained possession by a singular stratagem. A number of them appeared in the day time on the opposite side of the river, each covered with a bear-skin, walking on all-fours, and imitating the motions of that animal. The French supposed them to be bears, and a party crossed the river in pursuit of them. The remainder of the troops left their quarters, and resorted to the bank of the river, in front of the garrison, to observe the sport. In the meantime, a large body of Indian warriors, who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently up behind the fort, entered it without opposition, and very few of the French escaped the carnage. They afterwards built another fort on the same ground, which they called *Massacre*, in memory of this disastrous event, and which retained the name of *Fort Mussac*, after it passed into the hands of the American government.\*

The foregoing statement is a truthful one according to all the traditionary evidence we can collect. We find no authority for the word "Marsiac," as given by Mr. Nicolet.†

This post was a mission station as early as 1711, when the Ohio was called the "Ouabache," as is shown in the correspondence in the Letters Edifiantes already alluded to. Probably it continued a trading post and mission station, until the British authorities came into possession of Illinois.

The style of agriculture in all the French settlements was simple. Both the Spanish and French governments, in forming settlements on the Mississippi, had special regard to convenience of social intercourse, and protection from the Indians. All their settlements were required to be in the form of villages or towns, and lots of a convenient size for a door yard, garden and stable yard, were provided for each family. To each village were granted two tracts of land at convenient distances, for "*common fields*" and "*commons*."

A common field is a tract of land of several hundred acres,

\* Sketches of the West, I. 180 to 182.

† Report, p. 79.



enclosed in common by the villagers, each person furnishing his proportion of labor, and each family possessing individual interest in a portion of the field, marked off and bounded from the rest. Ordinances were made to regulate the repairs of fences, the time of excluding cattle in the spring, and the time of gathering the crop and opening the field for the range of cattle in the fall. Each plat of ground in the common field was owned in fee simple by the person to whom granted, subject to sale and conveyance, the same as any landed property.

A common is a tract of land granted to the town for wood and pasturage, in which each owner of a village lot has a common, but not an individual right. In some cases this tract embraced several thousand acres.

By this arrangement, something like a community system existed in their intercourse. If the head of a family was sick, met with any casualty, or was absent as an *engagee*, his family sustained little inconvenience. His plat in the common field was cultivated by his neighbors and the crop gathered. A pleasant custom existed in these French villages not thirty years since, and which had come down from the remotest period.

The husbandman on his return at evening from his daily toil, was always met by his affectionate *femme* with the friendly kiss, and very commonly with one, perhaps two of the youngest children, to receive the same salutation from *le pere*. This daily interview was at the gate of the door yard, and in view of all the villagers. The simple-hearted people were a happy and contented race. A few traits of these ancient characteristics remain, but most of the descendants of the French are fully Americanised.

#### SECTION FOURTH.

##### *State of the Country under British Domination.*

Amongst the sources of information concerning the Illinois country during the period of British rule, is a quarto volume entitled, "*The present state of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*," by Captain Phillip Pitman. It was published in London, 1770, contains 108 pages, and is illustrated by maps and charts.

Captain Pitman was military Engineer in the British army,



and in that capacity was sent to survey the forts, munitions of war and towns in Florida, in 1763, when the British took possession of that country. Having surveyed the fortifications of Pensacola and Mobile, near the Gulph, he proceeded to the posts and settlements on the Mississippi, and after surveying New Orleans and the other posts in Louisiana proper, he reached Illinois about 1766. He describes "the country of Illinois, as bounded by the Mississippi on the West, by the river Illinois on the north, the rivers Ouabache and Miamies on the East, and the Ohio on the South." Of this tract of country he says :—

"The air in general, is pure, and the sky serene, except in the month of March and the latter end of September, when there are heavy rains and hard gales of wind. The months of May, June, July and August, are excessively hot, and subject to sudden and violent storms. January and February are extremely cold, the other months in the year are moderate."

Very probably during the seasons Captain Pitman was in Illinois, "heavy rains" occurred in the latter end of September, but in the proportion of five years out of six, the autumnal months are dry ; the pastures decay ; and farmers find inconvenience in sowing wheat, from the drouth. During the periodical rise of the rivers in the spring, and especially the annual rise of the Missouri in June, rain falls to a greater or less extent. Captain Pitman, whose accuracy, in general, cannot be questioned, probably drew his comparison of the climate and seasons in Illinois with England, to which he had been accustomed. He continues :—

"The principal Indian nations in this country are, the Cascasquias, Kahoquias, Mitchigamias, and Peoryas ; these four tribes are generally called the Illinois Indians. Except in the hunting seasons, they reside near the English settlements in this country. They are a poor, debauched, and detestable people. They count about three hundred and fifty warriors. The Pianquichas, Mascoutins, Miamies, Kickapous, and Pyatonons, though not very numerous, are a brave and war-like people.

"The soil of this country in general, is very rich and luxuriant ; it produces all sorts of European grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton, and tobacco, and European fruits come to great perfection.

"The inhabitants make wine of the wild grapes, which is very inebriating, and is, in color and taste, very like the red wine of *Provence*. \* \* \* \* \*



"In the late wars, New Orleans and the lower parts of Louisiana were supplied with flour, beef, wines, hams, and other provisions from this country. At present its commerce is mostly confined to the peltry and furs, which are got in traffic from the Indians; for which are received in return, such European commodities as are necessary to carry on that commerce and the support of the inhabitants."

Of Fort Chartres, which was rebuilt in 1756, under the authority of the French government, in view of the hostilities then existing between England and France for the possession of the country on the Ohio, Captain Pitman gives the following description :—

"Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of the Illinois. The head quarters of the English commanding officer is now here, who, in fact, is the arbitrary governor of this country. The fort is an irregular quadrangle; the sides of the exterior polygon are 490 feet. It is built of stone, and plastered over, and is only designed as a defence against the Indians. The walls are two feet two inches thick, and are pierced with loop-holes at regular distances, and with two port-holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch has never been finished. The entrance to the fort is through a very handsome rustic gate. Within the walls is a banquette raised three feet, for the men to stand on when they fire through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort are, a commandant's and commissary's house, the magazine of stores, corps de garde, and two barracks; these occupy the square. Within the gorges of the bastion are a powder magazine, a bake-house, and a prison, in the lower floor of which are four dungeons, and in the upper, two rooms, and an out-house belonging to commandant. The commandant's house is thirty-two yards long and ten broad, and contains a kitchen, a dining-room, a bed-chamber, one small room, five closets for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house, (now occupied by officers,) is built on the same line as this, and its proportion and the distribution of its apartments are the same. Opposite these are the store-house and the guard-house; they are each thirty yards long and eight broad. The former consists of two large store-rooms, (under which is a large vaulted cellar,) a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the store-keeper; the latter of a soldiers' and officers' guard room, a chapel, a bed-chamber, a closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store-room. The lines of barracks have never been finished; they at present consist of two rooms, each for officers, and three for soldiers: they are each twenty feet square, and have betwixt them a small passage. There are fine spacious lofts over each building





which reach from end to end; these are made use of to lodge regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, &c. It is generally believed that this is the most convenient and best built fort in North America."

In 1756, the fort stood half a mile from the bank of the river; in 1766, it was 80 yards. In two years after, Captain Pitman states:—

The bank of the Mississippi, next the fort, is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which has been turned from its course by a sand-bank, now increased to a considerable island, covered with willows. Many experiments have been tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. Eight years ago the river was fordable to the Island; the channel is now forty feet deep.

In the year 1764, there were about forty families in the village near the fort, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to Ste. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled in the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government."

About the year 1770, the river made further encroachments, and in 1772, it inundated portions of the American bottom, and formed a channel so near this fort, that the wall and two bastions on the west side, next the river, were undermined and fell into the river. The British garrison abandoned it, and it has never since been occupied. Those portions of the wall which escaped the flood, have been removed by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and adjacent settlements for building purposes.

In 1829, Dr. Lewis C. Beck, of New York, while collecting materials for his *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, visited these ruins, and aided by Mr. Hanson of Illinois, made a complete and accurate survey, with an engraved plan of the fort as it then appeared. The line of the exterior wall was one thousand four hundred and forty-seven feet. The two houses, formerly occupied by the commandant and commissary, were each ninety-six feet in length and thirty feet in breadth.

The following description, as it then appeared, is from Beck's *Gazetteer*, pp. 108, 109.

"In front, all that remains, is a small stone cellar, which has no doubt been a magazine: some distance above, or north



of this, is an excavation in the earth, which has the appearance of having been burned; it may have been a furnace for heating shot, as one of the cannon must have been in this vicinity. Not a vestige of the wall is to be seen on this side, except a few stones, which still remain in the ravine below. At the south-east angle there is a gate, and the wall is perfect. It is about fifteen feet high and three feet thick, and is built of coarse lime-stone, quarried in the hills about two miles distant, and is well cemented. The south side is, with few exceptions, perfect; as is also the south-east bastion. The north-east is generally in ruins. On the east face are two port holes for cannon, which are still perfect; they are about three feet square, formed by solid rocks or clefts worked smooth, and into proper shape; here is also a large gate, 18 feet wide, the sides of which still remain in a state of tolerable preservation; the cornices and casements, however, which formerly ornamented it, have all been taken away. A considerable portion of the north side of the fort, has also been destroyed.

The houses, which make up the square in the inside, are generally in ruins. Sufficient, however, remains to enable the visitor to ascertain exactly their dimensions and relative situations. The well, which is little injured by time, is about 24 feet north of the north-east house, which, according to Pitman, was the commandant's house. The banquette is entirely destroyed. The magazine is in a perfect state, and is an uncommon specimen of solidity. Its walls are four feet thick, and it is arched in the inside.

Over the whole fort, there is a considerable growth of trees, and in the hall of one of the houses, there is an oak about 18 inches in diameter.

There is now (1850) a large Island in the river where a sand-bar "covered with willows," had commenced at the period of Captain Pitman's survey. A "slough" is next the ruins. Trees more than three feet in diameter, are within the walls. It is a ruin in the midst of a dense forest, and did we not know its origin and history, it might furnish a fruitful theme of antiquarian speculation.

Captain Pitman gives the following description of *Kaskaskia*, or according to the French orthography of the period, which he follows, *Cascasquias*.

"The village of Notre Dame de Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the country of the Illinois, as well from its number of inhabitants, as from its advantageous situation. \* \* \* \* \*

"Mons. Paget was the first who introduced water-mills in this country, and he constructed a very fine one on the river



Cascasquias, which was both for grinding corn and sawing boards. It lies about one mile from the village. The mill proved fatal to him, being killed as he was working it, with two negroes, by a party of the Cherokees, in the year 1764.

"The principal buildings are, the church and Jesuits' house, which has a small chapel adjoining it; these, as well as some other houses in the village, are built of stone, and, considering this part of the world, make a very good appearance.—The Jesuits' plantation consisted of two hundred and forty arpents of cultivated land,\* a very good stock of cattle, and a brewery; which was sold by the French commandant, after the country was ceded to the English, for the crown, in consequence of the suppression of the order.

"Mons. Beauvais was the purchaser, who is the richest of the English subjects in this country; he keeps eighty slaves; he furnishes eighty-six thousand weight of flour to the King's magazine, which was only a part of the harvest he reaped in one year.

"Sixty-five families reside in this village, besides merchants, other casual people, and slaves. The fort, which was burnt down in October, 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village, and on the opposite side of the [Kaskaskia] river. It was an oblongular quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon measured two hundred and ninety, by two hundred and fifty-one feet. It was built of very thick squared timber, and dove-tailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers are quartered in the village. The officer governs the inhabitants, under the direction of the commandant at Chartres. Here are also two companies of militia."

Prairie du Rocher, or "La Prairie de Roches," as Captain Pitman has it, is next described—

"As about seventeen [fourteen] miles from Cascasquias.—It is a small village, consisting of twelve dwelling-houses, all of which are inhabited by as many families. Here is a little chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort Chartres. The inhabitants here are very industrious, and raise a great deal of corn and every kind of stock. The village is two miles from Fort Chartres. [This means *Little Village*, which was a mile, or more, nearer than the fort.] It takes its name from its situation, being built under a rock that runs parallel with the river Mississippi at a league distance, for forty miles up. Here is a company of militia, the Captain of which regulates the police of the village."

Saint Phillippe is a small village about five miles from Fort Chartres, on the road to Kaoquias. There are about sixteen

\* An *arpent* is 85-100ths of an English acre.—EDITOR.



houses and a small church standing; all of the inhabitants, except the Captain of the militia, deserted it 1765, and went to the French side, [Missouri.] The Captain of the militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill for corn and planks. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi."

Next follows a description of Cahokia, or, in the orthography of the time, "Kaoquias," which we give entire. It will be kept in mind that Captain Pitman was officially employed in surveying all the forts, villages and improvements to be found in the English territories on the Mississippi and Gulph of Mexico; that he was engaged several years in this work by personal observation, and that the work from which these extracts are made is an official document of great value as filling up a chasm in the history of Illinois, for which no other correct sources of information are to be found.

"The village of Saint Famille de Kaoquias," (so Pitman writes,) "is generally reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort Chartres, and six leagues below the mouth of the Missouri. It stands near the side of the Mississippi, and is marked from the river by an Island of two leagues long. [See Annals, p. 122.] The village is opposite the centre of this Island; it is long and straggling, being three quarters of a mile from one end to the other. It contains forty-five dwelling-houses, and a church near its centre. The situation is not well chosen; as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet.— This was the first settlement on the Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada, and then resided there, leaving their children to succeed them.

"The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption; they have a great plenty of poultry and good stocks of horned cattle.

"The mission of St. Sulpice had a very fine plantation here, and an excellent house built on it. They sold this estate and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman who chose to remain under the English government.— They also disposed of thirty negroes and a good stock of cattle to different people in the country, and returned to France in 1764. What is called the fort, is a small house standing in the centre of the village. It differs nothing from the other houses, except in being one of the poorest. It was formerly enclosed with high pallisades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed, a fort at this place could be of but little use.





In the language of Captain Pitman, we have given a full and accurate description of the settlements in Illinois, at the period it passed from the dominion of France to that of Great Britain. The population of all classes, other than the aborigines, could not have exceeded three thousand persons. About one-third of this number left the country. The missionaries, with their attendants, returned to France. Many families directed their course to the vicinity of New Orleans. A still larger number crossed the river to Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis and St. Charles. Not more than two thousand French, English and negroes remained. The increase during British rule did not exceed the number who retreated. The cession took place in 1763, but it remained in the possession of the French until the year 1765. M. St. Ange de Belle Rive was commandant at Fort Chartres, and Lieutenant Governor of the district of Illinois. He made some wise and salutary regulations about titles to lands, and on the arrival of Captain Stirling, of the Royal Highlanders, to assume, in the name of His Britannic Majesty, the government of the country, St. Ange retired to St. Louis, and there exercised the functions of commandant, much to the satisfaction of the people, until November, 1770, when his authority was superceded by Piernas, commandant under the Spanish government.

At the period of the change of government in Illinois, General Gage was Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops in North America. Captain Stirling brought to the country the following proclamation of Governor Gage:—

“Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763, the country of Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the catholic religion, as has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end, that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

“That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, (the king of France,) may retire in full safety and free-



dom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty, (the king of Spain,) and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretence whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of *Sieur Stirling*, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all causes of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that those presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at head-quarters, New York—signed with our hands—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our Secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.\*

"By his Excellency, G. MARTURIN."

Captain *Stirling* remained but a short time in Illinois. He was succeeded by Major *Farmer*, of whose administration little is known. Next in office was Colonel *Reed*, who made himself conspicuous by a series of military oppressions, of which complaints were made without redress. He became odiously unpopular and left the colony.

The next in command was Lieutenant-Colonel *Wilkins*, who arrived at *Kaskaskia* on the 5th of September, 1768. On the 21st of November following, he issued a proclamation, stating that he had received orders from Gen. Gage to establish a court of justice in Illinois, for settling all disputes and



controversies between man and man, and all claims in relation to property, both real and personal.

As military commandant, Colonel Wilkins appointed seven judges, who met and held their first court at Fort Chartres, December 6th, 1768. Courts were then held once in each month.

Even this system, though greatly preferable to a military tribunal, was far from satisfying the claims of the people. They insisted on a trial by a jury, which being denied them, the court became unpopular.

In 1772, after the flood already noticed, the seat of government was removed to Kaskaskia.

We know not at what period Colonel Wilkins left the country, nor whether any other British officer succeeded him. When taken possession of by Colonel Clark, in 1778, M. Rochblave, a Frenchman, was commandant. [See Annals, p. 195.]

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## CHAPTER II.

### SKETCHES OF ILLINOIS HISTORY.

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Sketches of Indian History in Illinois—Progress of Illinois from 1800 to 1812—Incidents of the War in Illinois.

#### SECTION FIRST.

##### *Events from 1777 to 1800.*

A communication from Hon. John Reynolds, of Belleville, Illinois, to whom we are indebted for several items of the history of that State, gives the following statement, dated April 7th, 1850.

"Dear Sir:—Mr. N. Boismenue, a native of Cahokia, gave me the following facts, which he received from his father and other citizens of Cahokia. They are connected with the revolution, and date one or two years before Colonel Clark conquered the country. You may rest assured as to the truth of the same."

As we have personal knowledge of Mr. Boismenue, and his character for veracity and a retentive memory, and having before heard of such an enterprize, we have no hesitation in giving it a place, as an incident connected with Illinois.



Evidence has already been given, that the French population disliked the British government, and only wanted a favorable opportunity to throw off the yoke.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in the preceding chapter, of the quiet, peaceful, unambitious character of the many, there was restlessness and a daring spirit among the few. Of this class was the party described by Mr. Boismenu. Whether their motives were purely patriotic or of a mixed character, cannot now be known.

We give the facts substantially as communicated by our correspondent.

There was at Cahokia, a restless, adventurous, daring man by the name of Thomas Brady, or as he was familiarly called, "Tom Brady;" a native of Pennsylvania, who, by hunting, or in some other pursuit, found himself a resident of Cahokia. He raised a company of sixteen resolute persons, all of Cahokia and the adjacent village of Prairie du Pont, of which the father of Mr. Boismenu, the informant, was one. After becoming organized for an expedition, the party moved through the prairies to a place called the "Cow Pens," on the river St. Joseph, in the south-western part of Michigan. Here was a trading-post and fort originally established by the French, but since the transfer of the country, had been occupied by the British by a small force, as a protection of their traders from the Indians. In 1777, it consisted of twenty-one men.

Brady, with his little band of volunteers, left Cahokia about the 1st of October, 1777, and made their way to the fort, which they captured in the night, without loss on either side, except a negro. This person was a slave from some of the colonies on the Mississippi, who, in attempting to escape, was shot. One object of this expedition, probably, was the British goods in the fort.

The company started back as far as the Calumet, a stream on the border of Indiana, south-east of Chicago, when they were overtaken by a party of British, Canadians and Indians, about three hundred in number, who attacked the Cahokians and forced them to surrender. Two of Brady's party were killed, two wounded, one escaped, and twelve were made prisoners. These remained prisoners in Canada two years, except Brady, who made his escape, and returned to Illinois





by way of Pennsylvania. M. Boismenue, senior, was one of the wounded men.

The next spring a Frenchman, by the name of Paulette Maize, a daring fellow, raised about 300 volunteers from Cahokia, St. Louis, and other French villages, to re-capture the fort on the river St. Joseph. This campaign was by land, across the prairies in the spring of 1778. It was successful; the fort was re-taken, and the peltries and goods became the spoil of the victors. The wounded men returned home with Maize. One gave out; they had no horses; and he was dispatched by the leader, to prevent the company being detained on their retreat, lest the same disaster should befall them as happened to Brady, and his company. Some of the members of the most ancient and respectable families in Cahokia, were in this expedition.

Thomas Brady became the Sheriff of the county of St. Clair, after its organization by the Governor of the North-Western territory in 1790. He was regarded as a trust-worthy citizen and died at Cahokia many years since. After the conquest of Illinois, the ancient inhabitants of the new county formed by Virginia, [Annals, p. 200,] took the oath of allegiance to that State.

In the spring of 1779, Colonel John Todd, bearing the commission of County Lieutenant for the county of Illinois, visited Post Vincennes and Kaskaskia, for the purpose of organizing a temporary government, according to the provisions of the act of the General Assembly of Virginia, of October 1778. On the 15th of June, Mr. Todd issued the following proclamation.\*

*"Illinois [county,] to-wit:—Whereas, from the fertility and beautiful situation of the lands bordering upon the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash rivers, the taking up the usual quantity of land heretofore allowed for a settlement by the government of Virginia, would injure both the strength and commerce of this country—I do, therefore, issue this proclamation, strictly enjoining all persons whatsoever from making any new settlements upon the flat lands of the said rivers, or within one league of said lands, unless in manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants, until further orders herein given. And in order that all the claims to lands in said county may be fully known, and some*

\* Dillon's Indians, i. 186.



method provided for perpetuating by record the just claims, every inhabitant is required, as soon as conveniently may be, to lay before the person in each district appointed for that purpose, a memorandum of his or her land, with copies of all their vouchers; and where vouchers have never been given, or are lost, such depositions or certificates as will tend to support their claims;—the memorandum to mention the quantity of land, to whom originally granted, and when—deducing the title through the various occupants to the present possessor.

The number of adventurers who will shortly overrun this country renders the above method necessary as well to ascertain the vacant lands as to guard against trespasses which will probably be committed on lands not of record.

Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia, the 15th of June, in the 3d year of the Commonwealth, 1779.

JOHN TODD, Jr."

For the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction was instituted at Post Vincennes, in June, 1779. The court was composed of several magistrates. Colonel J. M. P. Legras, having been appointed commandant of the town, acted as president of the court, and in some cases exercised a controlling influence over its proceedings. Adopting in some measure the usages and customs of the early French commandants, the magistrates of the Court of Post Vincennes began to grant or concede tracts of land to the French and American inhabitants of the town, and to different civil and military officers of the country. Indeed it appears that the court assumed the power of granting lands to every applicant. Before the year 1783, about twenty-six thousand acres of land were granted to different individuals. From 1783 to 1787, when the practice was stopped by General Harmar, the grants amounted to twenty-two thousand acres.\* They were given in tracts varying in quantities from four hundred acres to the size of a house lot. Besides these small concessions there were some grants of tracts several leagues square. The commandant and magistrates, after having exercised this power for some time, began to believe that they had the right to dispose of all that large tract of land which, in 1742, had been granted by the Piankeshaw Indians, for the use of the French inhabitants of Post Vincennes. "Accordingly an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court, and orders to that effect entered on their journal: each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only.†

Colonel Todd was killed at the battle of Blue Licks, [An-

† Letter written in 1790, from Winthrop Sargent to George Washington.



nals, p. 272,] where he commanded the Kentuckians. He had been to Virginia on business pertaining to Illinois, returning through Kentucky, and not having resigned his command in the militia of that district, he led the troops to the battle field. Had he lived he would have become a resident of Illinois.—His administration in the new territory was patriotic and popular.

The successor of Colonel Todd was a French gentleman by the name of Timothy de Monbrun, whose official signature is found to land grants and other documents in the archives of Randolph county. His name appears at the head of a trading company at the French Licks, (Nashville, Tenn.) before the revolutionary war. How long he administered the affairs of the country we know not, and whether any other person was his successor is equally doubtful. The reader will recollect that in 1784, Virginia ceded the North-Western territory to the Continental Congress, and that the territory of Illinois remained without an organized government until 1790 [Annals, p. 576.]

The next series of events demanding attention, are the first American settlements in Illinois, and their difficulties with the Indians.

The military expedition of General George Rogers Clark, in 1788, and the subjection of the forts of St. Vincent, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, was the occasion of making known the fertile plains of Illinois to the people of the Atlantic States, and exciting a spirit of emigration to the banks of the Mississippi. Some who accompanied him in that expedition, shortly after returned and took possession of the conquered country.

At the period of which we speak, with the exception of the old French villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, Village a Cote, Prairie du Pont, and a few families scattered along the Wabash and Illinois rivers, Illinois was the abode of the untamed savage.

Tradition tells us of many a hard-fought battle between the original owners of the country and these intruders. *Battle-ground creek* is well known, on the road from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, twenty-five miles from the former place, where the Kaskaskias and their allies were dreadfully slaughtered by the united forces of the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies.



Of the Indians, the Kickapoos were the most formidable and most dangerous neighbors to the whites, and for a number of years kept the American settlements in continual alarm. At first, they appeared friendly; but from 1786 to 1796, a period of ten years, the settlements were in a continual state of alarm from these and other Indians.

The first settlement formed by emigrants from the United States, was made near Bellefontaine, Monroe county, in 1781, by James Moore, whose numerous descendants now reside in the same settlement. Mr. Moore was a native of Maryland, but came to Illinois from Western Virginia, with his family, in company with James Garrison, Robert Kidd, Shadrach Bond, sen., and Larkin Rutherford. They passed through the wilderness of the Ohio river, where they took water, came down the river, and up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia. Mr. Moore, and a portion of his party, planted themselves on the hills near Bellefontaine, and Garrison, Bond, and the rest, settled in the American bottom, near Harrisonville. This station became afterwards known by the name of the block-house fort.

Nothing deserving special notice occurred amongst this little band of pioneers, till 1785, when they were joined by Jos. Ogle, Jos. Worley, and James Andrews, with large families, from Virginia. In 1786, the settlements were strengthened by the arrival of James Lemen, George Atcherson, and David Waddell, with their families, and several others. The same year, the Kickapoo Indians commenced their course of predatory warfare. A single murder, that of James Flannery, had been committed in 1783, while on a hunting excursion, but it was not regarded as an act of war.

But in 1786, they attacked the settlement, killed James Andrews, his wife and daughter, James White and Samuel McClure, and took two girls, daughters of Andrews, prisoners. One of these died with the Indians, the other was ransomed by the French traders. She is now alive, the mother of a large family, and resides in St. Clair county. The Indians had previously threatened the settlement, and the people had built and entered a block-house; but this family was out and defenceless.

1787. Early in this year, five families near Bellefontaine, united and built a block-house, surrounded it with palisades, in which their families resided. While laboring in the corn-





field, they were obliged to carry their rifles, and often at night had to keep guard. Under these embarrassments, and in daily alarm, they cultivated their corn-fields.

1788. This year the war assumed a more threatening aspect. Early in the spring, William Biggs was taken prisoner. While himself, John Vallis, and Joseph and Benjamin Ogle, were passing from the station on the hills to the Block-house fort in the bottom, they were attacked by the Indians. Biggs and Vallis were a few rods in advance of the party. Vallis was killed and Biggs taken prisoner. The others escaped unhurt. Biggs was taken through the prairies to the Kickapoo towns on the Wabash, from whence he was finally liberated by means of the French traders. The Indians treated him well, offered him the daughter of a brave for a wife, and proposed to adopt him into their tribe. He afterwards became a resident of St. Clair county, was a member of the territorial legislature, judge of the county court, and wrote and published a narrative of his captivity among the Indians.

On the 10th day of December, in the same year, James Garrison and Benjamin Ogle, while hauling hay from the bottom, were attacked by two Indians; Ogle was shot in the shoulder, where the ball remained; Garrison sprang from the load and escaped into the woods. The horses taking fright, carried Ogle safe to the settlements. In stacking the same hay, Samuel Garrison and a Mr. Riddick were killed and scalped.

1789. This was a period of considerable mischief. Three boys were attacked by six Indians, a few yards from the block-house, one of which, David Waddel, was struck with a tomahawk in three places, scalped, and yet recovered; the others escaped unhurt. A short time previous, James Turner, a young man, was killed on the American bottom. Two men were afterwards killed and scalped while on their way to St. Louis. In another instance, two men were attacked on a load of hay; one was killed outright, the other was scalped, but recovered. The same year John Ferrel was killed, and John Dempsey was scalped and made his escape. The Indians frequently stole the horses and killed the cattle of the settlers.

1790. The embarrassments of these frontier people greatly increased, and they lived in continual alarm. In the winter, a party of Osage Indians, who had not molested them hitherto,



came across the Mississippi, stole a number of horses, and attempted to recross the river. The Americans followed and fired upon them. James Worley, an old settler, having got in advance of his party, was shot, scalped, and his head cut off and left on the sand-bar. The same year, James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, while on a visit to these frontiers, was taken prisoner by a party of Kickapoos. On the 19th May, in company with Mrs. Huff and a Frenchman, he was proceeding from the block-house to a settlement then known by the name of the Little Village. The Kickapoos fired upon them from an ambuscade near Bellefontaine, killed the Frenchman's horse, sprang upon the woman and her child, whom they despatched with a tomahawk, and took Smith. His horse being shot, he attempted to flee on foot; and having some valuable papers in his saddle-bags, he threw them into a thicket, where they were found next day by his friends. Having retreated a few yards down the hill, he fell on his knees in prayer for the poor woman they were butchering, and who had been seriously impressed, for some days, about religion. The Frenchman escaped on foot in the thickets. The Indians soon had possession of Smith, loaded him with packs of plunder which they had collected, and took up their line of march through the prairies. Smith was a large, heavy man, and soon became tired under his heavy load, and with the hot sun. Several consultations were held by the Indians, how to dispose of their prisoner. Some were for despatching him outright, being fearful the whites would follow them from the settlement, and frequently pointing their guns at his breast. Knowing well the Indian character, he would bare his breast as if in defiance, and point upwards to signify the Great Spirit was his protector. Seeing him in the attitude of prayer, and hearing him sing hymns on his march, which he did to relieve his own mind from despondency, they came to the conclusion that he was a 'great medicine,' holding daily intercourse with the Good Spirit, and must not be put to death. After this, they took off his burdens and treated him kindly. They took him to the Kickapoo towns on the Wabash, from whence, in a few months, he obtained his deliverance, the inhabitants of New Design paying one hundred and seventy dollars for his ransom.

1791. In the spring of this year, the Indians again com-



menced their depredations by stealing horses. In May, John Dempsey was attacked, but made his escape. A party of eight men followed. The Indians were just double their number. A severe running fight was kept up for several hours, and conducted with great prudence and bravery on the part of the whites. Each party kept the trees for shelter; the Indians retreating, and the Americans pursuing, from tree to tree until night put an end to the conflict. Five Indians were killed without the loss of a man or of a drop of blood on the other side. This party consisted of Capt. N. Hull, who commanded, Joseph Ogle, sen., Benjamin Ogle, James Lemen, sen., J. Ryan, William Bryson, John Porter, and D. Draper.

1792. This was a season of comparative quietness. No Indian fighting; and the only depredations committed, were in stealing a few horses.

1793. This was a period of contention and alarm. The little settlements were strengthened this year by the addition of a band of emigrants from Kentucky; amongst which was the family of Whiteside.

In February, an Indian in ambuscade, wounded Joel Whiteside, and was followed by John Moore, Andrew Kinney, Thos. Todd, and others, killed and scalped. Soon after, a party of Kickapoos, supposed to have been headed by the celebrated war-chief, Old Pecan, made a predatory excursion into the American bottom, near the present residence of S. W. Miles, in Monroe county, and stole nine horses from the citizens. A number of citizens rallied and commenced pursuit; but many having started without preparing for long absence, and being apprehensive that an expedition into the Indian country would be attended with much danger, all returned but eight men. This little band consisted of Samuel Judy, John Whiteside, William L. Whiteside, Uel Whiteside, William Harrington, John Dempsey, and John Porter, with William Whiteside, a man of great prudence and unquestionable bravery in Indian warfare, whom they chose commander.

They passed on the trail near the present site of Belleville, towards the Indian camps on Shoal creek, where they found three of the stolen horses grazing, which they secured. The party then, small as it was, divided into two parts of four men each, and approached the Indian camps from opposite sides. The signal for attack was the discharge of the captain's gun.



One Indian, a son of Old Pecan, was killed, another mortally, and others slightly wounded, as the Indians fled, leaving their guns. Such a display of courage by the whites, and being attacked on two sides at once, made the Indians believe there was a large force, and the old chief approached the party and begged for quarter. But when he discovered his foes to be an insignificant number, and his own party numerous, he called aloud to his braves to return and retrieve their honor. His own gun he surrendered to the whites, but now he seized the gun of the captain, and exerted all his force to wrest it from him. Captain Whiteside was a powerful man, and a stranger to fear; but he compelled the Indian to retire, deeming it dishonorable to destroy an unarmed man, who had previously surrendered.

This intrepid band was now in the heart of the Indian country, where hundreds of warriors could be raised in a few hours' time. In this critical situation, Captain Whiteside, not less distinguished for prudence than bravery, did not long hesitate. With the horses they had recovered, they immediately started for home, without loss of time in hunting the remainder. They travelled night and day, without eating or sleeping, till they reached in safety Whiteside's station, in Monroe county. On the same night, Old Pecan, with seventy warriors, arrived in the vicinity of Cahokia. From that time the very name of Whiteside struck terror amongst the Kickapoos.

Hazardous and daring as this expedition was, it met with great disapprobation from many of the settlers. Some alleged that Old Pecan was decidedly friendly to the whites; that another party had stolen the horses; that the attack upon his camp was clandestine and wanton; and that it was the cause of much subsequent mischief. These nice points of casuistry are difficult to be settled at this period. It has long been known, that one portion of a nation or tribe will be on the war-path, while another party will pretend to be peaceable. Hence it has been found necessary to hold the tribe responsible for the conduct of its party.

1794. The Indians, in revenge of the attack just narrated, shot Thomas Whiteside, a young man, near the 'station,' tomahawked a son of William Whiteside, so that he died, all in revenge for the death of Old Pecan's son. In February of the same year, the Indians killed Mr. Huff, one of the early settlers, while on his way to Kaskaskia.





1795. Two men at one time, and some French negroes at another time, were killed on the American bottom, and some prisoners taken. The same year, the family of Mr. McMahan was killed and himself and daughters taken prisoners. This man lived in the outskirts of the settlement. Four Indians attacked his house in day-light, killed his wife and four children before his eyes, laid their bodies in a row on the floor of the cabin, took him and his daughters, and marched for their towns. On the second night, Mr. McMahan, finding the Indians asleep, put on their moccasins and made his escape. He arrived in the settlement just after his neighbors had buried his family. They had enclosed their bodies in rude coffins, and covered them with earth as he came in sight. He looked upon the newly formed hillock, and raising his eyes to heaven in pious resignation, said, 'they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.' His daughter, now Mrs. Gaskill, of Ridge Prairie, was afterwards ransomed by the charitable contributions of the people.

Not far from this period, the Whitesides, and others, to the number of fourteen persons, made an attack upon an encampment of Indians, of superior force, at the foot of the bluffs west of Belleville. Only one Indian ever returned to his nation to tell the story of their defeat. The graves of the rest were to be seen, a few years since, in the border of the thicket, near the battle ground. In this skirmish, Capt. Wm. Whiteside was wounded, as he thought, mortally, having received a shot in his side. As he fell, he exhorted his sons to fight valiantly, not to yield an inch of ground, nor let the Indians touch his body. Uel Whiteside, who was shot in the arm, and disabled from using the rifle, examined the wound, and found the ball had glanced along the ribs and lodged against the spine. With that presence of mind, which is sometimes characteristic of our backwoods hunters, he whipped out his knife, gashed the skin, extracted the ball, and holding it up, exultingly exclaimed, "Father, you are not dead!" The old man instantly jumped on his feet, and renewed the fight, exclaiming, come on, boys, I can fight them yet! Such instances of desperate intrepidity and martial energy of character, distinguished the men who defended the frontiers of Illinois in those days of peril.

The subjugation of the Indians in the Miami country, by



General Wayne, in 1794, and the treaty that grew out of it the following year, brought peace to the borders of Illinois, and the settlers remained unmolested from these daily alarms. A few horses were stolen from time to time, and in 1802, Joseph Vanmeter and Alexander Dennis were killed on the American bottom, but no attack was made upon the settlements. Families again took up their abodes in the borders of the prairies; emigrants from the States clustered around them, and the cultivation of the soil was pursued without fear or interruption.

During most of the period we have gone over, these people lived under the jurisdiction of the North-Western territory. The administration of civil government was conducted in its most simple form; the morals of the people were pure, and much of rural simplicity and hospitality was enjoyed.

There was something peculiarly interesting in this primitive society. The grosser vices were unknown. There was but very little use for the administration of either civil or criminal laws. Ardent spirit, that outrage upon morals, social order, and religion, had been introduced but in small quantities; thefts and other crimes were extremely rare, and fraud and dishonesty in dealings, but seldom practised. The Moores, Ogles, Lemens, and other families, were of unblemished morals, and were impelled by a love of freedom to leave the banks of the Potomac, in Virginia, for a residence on the prairies of Illinois. They were opposed to slavery, and took up their long line of march for these wild regions, that they and their posterity might enjoy, uninterrupted, the advantages of a country unembarrassed with slavery.

For the first eight or ten years of the period I have glanced over, the only professor of religion in the colony was a female, who had been a member of the Presbyterian church; yet the sabbath was observed with religious consecration. The people were accustomed to assemble, sing hymns, and read a portion of scripture or a sermon. No one ventured to offer a prayer.

In 1778, James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, whose captivity with the Indians has been narrated, visited the settlement and preached to the people. The influence of the divine spirit descended, and some were converted. This was the first protestant preaching, and these were the first



converts, and this the first revival of religion, ever known on the banks of the "father of waters."

In 1790, Smith made his first visit to the country, preached several times, and other persons became anxious about their souls, amongst whom was the woman who was murdered, when he was captured. Owing to the unsettled state of the country, it was not deemed expedient to organize a church.— Amongst the converts made under the preaching of Smith, were Joseph Ogle and some of his children, James Lemen, sen., their wives and others.

In 1793, Joseph Lillard, a Methodist preacher, made a visit to the country, and attended several meetings. Some of the families embraced Methodist principles. The succeeding year, Josiah Dodge, a regular Baptist preacher, originally from Connecticut, but then from Kentucky, visited Illinois, and preached the gospel with some success. The next year he returned and baptized James Lemen, sen., and wife, John Gibbons and Isaac Enocks. This was the first instance of the ordinance of baptism being administered by a protestant in these ends of the earth. During the same year, 1796, elder David Badgley from Virginia, visited Illinois, and organized the Baptist church at New Design, which was the first regularly organized protestant community.

It is worthy of note, that the descendants of those early settlers whose attention was turned to religion, and for whom the Lord spread a table in the wilderness, are now worthy and respectable members of christian churches. A large majority of the Moores, Lemens and Ogles, are of this description.

In a few years, preachers of the gospel were raised up in the country, many of whom are now alive; and notwithstanding the difficulties they had to surmount, and the privations to endure, they have been instrumental in doing much good. In those days, that minister's library was thought to be well supplied, that contained a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures, a copy of Watts' Psalms and Hymns, and Russell's seven Sermons. There were preachers then, who taught the people in the best manner they were able, without possessing, and without the power of obtaining a *whole copy* of the Word of God.

The opportunity of these pioneers to educate their children



was extremely small. If the mother could read, while the father was in the cornfield, or with his rifle upon the range, she would barricade the door to keep off the Indians, gather her little ones around her, and by the light that came in from the crevices in the roof and sides of the cabin, she would teach them the rudiments of spelling from the fragments of some old book. After schools were taught, the price of a rough and antiquated copy of Dilworth's spelling book was *one* dollar, and that dollar equal in value to *five* now.

The first school ever taught for the American settlers, was by Samuel Seely, in 1783. Francis Clark, an intemperate man, came next. This was near Bellefontaine, in 1785.—After this, an inoffensive Irishman of small attainments, by the name of Halfpenny, was employed by the people for several quarters. Spelling, reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, were all the branches attempted to be taught, and these in a very imperfect manner.

Following him, the late pious and eccentric John Clark, a preacher of the gospel, taught the youth of these settlements gratuitously. He was a good scholar, of Scotch descent and education, and initiated the young men of that day, not only in the rudiments of an English education, but in several instances, in mathematics, natural philosophy, and the latin language.

The year 1797 was distinguished for a mortal sickness that prevailed in the settlement of New Design. A colony of one hundred and twenty-six persons, left the south branch of the Potomac, in Virginia, early in the spring, descended the Ohio by water, landed at Fort Massac, bringing their horses and wagons, with which they crossed the wilderness to New Design. The season proved uncommonly rainy; the mud was excessively deep, and frequently for miles in extent, they were obliged to wade through sheets of water. They were twenty-one days in traversing this wilderness, which is mostly a timbered region. The old settlers had been so long harrassed with Indian warfare, that agriculture had been neglected, their cattle were few in number, and their stock of provisions very scanty. Their cabins usually consisted of a single room, for all domestic purposes; and though hospitality to strangers is a universal trait in frontier character, it was utterly beyond the power of the inhabitants to provide accommodations in





provisions or shelter to these new comers, who arrived in a famishing, deplorable, and sickly condition. They did the best they could; a single cabin frequently contained three or four families. Their rifles could procure venison from the prairies; but the extreme rains were followed with unusual heat; they had no salt, and their meat was often in "spoiling order," before they could pack it from the hunting grounds to the settlement. Medical aid was procured with the greatest difficulty, and that but seldom. Under such circumstances, need it surprise the reader, that of the one hundred and twenty-six emigrants who left Virginia in the spring, only sixty-three remained at the close of summer. A little bluff had been entirely covered with newly-formed graves! They were swept off by a putrid fever, uncommonly malignant, and which sometimes did its work in a few hours. The old inhabitants were healthy as usual.

The settlers state, that no disease like it ever appeared in the country before or since. Intelligence of this fatal sickness reached the Atlantic states, found its way into the periodical journals, and, more than all other events, has produced an impression abroad, that all Illinois is a sickly country; an impression wholly incorrect. Illinois, unquestionably, is as healthy a region as any western state.

## SECTION II.

### *Sketches of Indian History in Illinois.*

The territory of Illinois, south of a line from about Quincy to Ottawa, was originally claimed by a confederacy of tribes under the general name of Illinois, or as called by Hennepin (of doubtful authority,) *Illini*. We have searched every authority within our reach, for the etymology and meaning of this name. The most elaborate work in our library on Indian names and the structure of numerous languages and dialects of the aborigines of our country, is the second volume of the "*Archæologia Americana*," or Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. This work contains 422 large octavo pages, from the pen of the late Albert Gallatin, Esq., whose researches in this department of literature are the most extensive to be found. "The works of Eliot, Coiton, Roger Williams, and Edwards of New England; the dictionary of Father Rasle, illustrated by the learned and discrimina-



ting Pickering ; and the researches of Heckewelder and Zeisberger, on whose data have been reared the philosophical hypotheses of Du Ponceau ;" are investigations in the languages and dialects of the Indian nations, most profound and searching. Mr. Gallatin has brought together in one view, the languages and dialects of all the Indian nations of North America, so far as authentic specimens could be procured. We are thus particular to remove any impressions that our suggestion of the origin and meaning of the term *Illinois* is fanciful.

The aborigines of this continent are not of one stock. In language, religion, manners, customs, figure, mental power, and other characteristics, the native inhabitants of North America were divided into several distinct classes ; and these again, were subdivided into numerous confederacies and tribes, differing from each other in dialect, and slight modifications of character. The first division, and the only one that demands attention in this work, has been denominated by the French the *Algonquin* race ; by Mr. Schoolcraft, the *Algic* race.

This was the most numerous class when the continent was first visited by Europeans, and, embraced all the Indians of Canada, New England and New York, except the *Iroquois* or "Six Nations," who are a different and a superior stock. The *Lenno-lenape*, or Delawares, of New Jersey and Pennsylvania ; the Powhattan confederacy of Virginia, the Chouannons, or Shawanoes, from James' River to Florida ; the Meaumies [Miami] of Ohio and Indiana ; the O'jibways, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Musquakies, [Fox Indians] Saukies, Kickapoos, and many others, including the Illinois confederacy, are of the Algonquin or Algic stock. They are called in the work before us, the *Algonquin-Lenape* nations.

The name Illinois is derived from *Lenno*, "man." The Delaware Indians (according to Heckewelder and Zeisberger) call themselves *Lenno-Lenape*, which means "original, or unmixed men." The term *manly* men, to distinguish themselves from mean, trifling men, would convey the exact idea. "Nape" means "male," and "Lenape" a real man.

The tribes along the Illinois gave the French explorers to understand, they were *real men*. They said "lenno," or "len-ni." All uncouth, strange and barbarous sounds are liable to be misunderstood, and mis-spelt, unless long acquaintance and



a careful analysis produce accuracy. The word *lenno* expressed the nation to which they belonged as a generic term.—There was no particular tribe called *Illini*. The word Illinois is partly Indian, and partly French. Every scholar knows that the termination is French. The river took its name from the Indians that occupied its banks.

The confederacy under the generic name Illinois, consisted of five tribes; the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamarouas, Peorias, and Mitchigamias. This last (if Charlevoix is correct) was a foreign tribe admitted into their confederacy, and which originally came from the other side of the Mississippi. This, we doubt, for originally they were about Lake Michigan, where they left their name. This confederacy are said to have been numerous, and before the visit of Marquette and Joliet, to consist of ten or twelve thousand souls.

The Iroquois, or five nations, were at war with them when La Salle visited Illinois. They claimed to have conquered the country, and exercised their right to dispose of it to their ally, Great Britain. The Chickasaws made war on them from the south: the Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and other bands from the north, and though once numerous, they were greatly reduced by their enemies.

*Starved Rock*, near the foot of the rapids of the Illinois, is a perpendicular mass of lime and sand stone washed by the current at its base, and elevated 150 feet. The diameter of its surface is about 100 feet, with a slope extending to the adjoining bluff from which alone it is accessible.

Tradition says that after the Illinois Indians had killed Pontiac, the great Indian Chief of the northern Indians made war upon them. A band of the Illinois, in attempting to escape, took shelter on this rock, which they soon made inaccessible to their enemies, and where they were closely besieged. They had secured provisions, but their only resource for water was by letting down vessels with bark ropes to the river. The wily besiegers contrived to come in canoes under the rock and cut off their buckets, by which means the unfortunate Illinois were starved to death. Many years after, their bones were whitening on this summit.

*Iroquois* river and county, in the eastern part of the State, reminds us of one victory, at least, the Illinois Indians gained over their ancient enemies. The latter were driven from the field with considerable loss.



The Tamarouas tribe were nearly exterminated by the Shawanese, in a fight in the eastern part of Randolph county, where their bones could be seen about the period of the conquest of Illinois by Clark. From that period their name was lost.

We are at some loss to arrange the Mascoutin tribe, or as given by Father Allouez, Mascontens.\* Charlevoix says, and he is confirmed by Mr. Schoolcraft, that *Mascontenck* means a "country without woods, a prairie."†—There certainly was a tribe called by this name, in friendly relations with the Illinois confederacy. They were a distinct band when Colonel Clark negotiated with the Indians of Illinois, in 1778. [Annals, 205.] They certainly were not Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos, nor Shawanese. Probably they, too, belonged to the Illinois confederacy, and constituted the sixth branch.

The Piankeshaws possessed the eastern part of the State adjacent to the Wabash river. Formerly they claimed the country on both sides of the Wabash, but about the middle of the sixteenth century, they gave the Shawanoes (who originated from the country on the Atlantic, between James' river and Florida) liberty to occupy the country on the Ohio and eastern side of the Wabash. In 1768, they granted a tract of country east of the Wabash to the Delaware Indians.‡—They claimed the country from the Wabash west to the dividing ridge, which separates the waters emptying into the Saline creek and the Kaskaskia river, from the streams that flow into the Wabash. They were a branch of the Miami confederacy.

There is a tradition that the Kickapoos originally came from beyond the Mississippi river, and yet their language, manners and customs are similar to those of the Sauks and Foxes. They claimed the country on the Sangamon, Mackinaw and Vermillion rivers in Illinois, and had villages on the Wabash in Indiana. Indian titles and boundaries are extremely vague and indeterminate. They have ever been a nomadic people, wandering from place to place. "Attachment to the graves of their fathers" is poetry.

\* Relations of New France, 1666.

† Transactions Antiquarian Society, ii. 61.

‡ Transactions, ii. 63.





The Sauks originated from the region of Quebec and Montreal. Probably they were expelled by the Iroquois who conquered that country. We can next identify them on the northern side of Michigan, along Saganau bay, as the name imports. Saganau is from Sau-ke-nuk, (Saukietown.)

Next they are at "Sauk river," in Wisconsin, below Green Bay, where they formed an alliance with the "Ottagamies," as called by the English and many Indians; the "*Les Renards*," by the French. Their true name is *Mus-quau-kee*, singular, or *Mus-quau-ki-uk*, plural. The meaning is *red* clay, as Saukie means *white* clay. The Foxes possessed the country about Green Bay, and along the river that bears their name.

It was not until some years after the French settled in Illinois, they wandered to the Mississippi, and took possession of the peninsula of Rock River, where they dispossessed the Sauteaux, with whom the French had traded. These people were a branch of the Chippeway, or Ojibbeway nation.— Their principal village was where Rock Island city now exists, but they had several other village sites, one of which was where Quincy now is. They took possession of the country of the Ioways, [Aionez] whom they partly subjugated. The Foxes had their principal village on the west side of the Mississippi, at Davenport. A small Sauk village was on the west side of the Mississippi river, near the mouth of the Desmôines.

The Pottawatomies, Ottowas and Chippeways, have an affinity in language, and have sustained a friendly relationship. They possessed the country in the north-eastern part of Illinois and around Lake Michigan.

The Menominees, (or Melominees of some writers) had their country north-west of Green Bay, among the rice-lakes. Their name signifies "Rice-eaters," and hence the French call them "Folls-avoine," a term that signifies wild rice, or "oats."— This tribe is mentioned by the missionaries as early as 1669. Another small tribe about Green Bay and Sturgeon Bay, is the "*Puants*," so called from their extreme filthy habits.



## SECTION THIRD.

*Progress of Illinois from 1800 to 1812.*

During this period, no important events of a thrilling character occurred to interrupt the quiet routine of peaceful life in this remote territory. The termination of the Indian hostilities invited immigration from the States. The settlements in what is now Monroe county, became the temporary resort of many families from the two Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, who, in a year or two, passed over to Upper Louisiana. The population of Illinois in 1790, did not much exceed 2000 white persons, and in 1800, about 3000. (The estimate in the preceding section included Indiana.) We have a list of the names of heads of American families, who came to Illinois previous to 1788, and thereby became entitled to donations of land, called "head-rights." Their number is 80. Of these the names of John Edgar, George Atcheson, Wm. Arundel, William Biggs, John Boyd, John Cook, John Dodge, James Garrison, Thomas Hughes, Jacob Judy, Peter Smith, James Lemen, sen., James Moore, Henry O'Harra, Joseph Ogle, James Piggott, Larkin Rutherford, John K. Simpson, Joseph Worley, James McRoberts, Thomas Brady, John Dempsey, Thomas Flannery, and many others, will be recollected by the old settlers.

A letter from Governor Reynolds, dated Belleville, Illinois, February 29th, 1848, gives the following facts:—

"The whole country both sides of the Mississippi, was called Illinois in ancient times. When my father started from Knox county, in East Tennessee, for the "Spanish country," as he intended, it was called there Illinois. He left Tennessee in the spring of 1800, crossed the Ohio river at "Lusk's ferry," as it was called, and landed on the right bank of the Ohio, where Golconda is now situated. There was no house on the road to Kaskaskia, until we reached General Edgar's ferry, one mile above the town. In 1801, there were six families east of the Kaskaskia river in a settlement. The names were Stacey McDonough, James Hughes and Messrs. Pettit, Dunks, and Anderson. My father, Robert Reynolds, settled near the river and town of Kaskaskia. Pettit, Anderson and Dunks, resided on Nine Mile creek, a few miles north of the first named persons, but it was called one settlement, although several miles in extent. No one at that period lived east nearer than Vincennes.



In very early times a town by the name of Washington was laid off in Horse Prairie, and a few families resided there in 1800. Mr. Leonis had a saw mill on Horse Creek, and General Edgar had a fine flouring mill on a small stream east of the Kaskaskia river. At a still earlier period, a town was established at or near Bellefontaine, in Monroe county, where both Americans and French resided, and I have seen the vestiges of it.

"Before 1790, General Edgar made salt at the foot of the bluffs near the residence of Judge Bond, and near the terminus of the bluffs at the south part of Monroe county. The water was not very strong, and yet considerable salt was made at this lick. At the Salines, below Ste. Genevieve, considerable salt was manufactured, during many years, within sight of the Illinois shore. And in still more ancient times, the French from Vincennes made salt at the Salines in Gallatin county."

General John Edgar was an officer in the British navy, in Canada, and on the lakes. He came to Kaskaskia during the war of the revolution. He was a trader and accumulated a large amount of lands.

Of the Americans who resided in the town of Kaskaskia in 1800, we give the names of John Edgar, James Edgar, William Morrison, Robert Morrison, John Rice Jones, William Arundel, and probably some others. Colonel William Morrison was engaged in the Indian trade. He kept the principal wholesale and retail store in the place for many years. He was a man of talents, enterprize, and indomitable energy, and died some years since at an advanced age.

The old Kaskaskia tribe of Indians at that period, were numerous, and resided between the town and ruins of Fort Chartres. They counted 150 warriors, which makes their population about 700 or 800. Their chief, old Du Coigne, was a man of strong mind and always friendly to the white people. The Kickapoos were frequently at war with the Kaskaskia Indians, and cut off many, but intoxicating drink killed many more.

Two American settlements were commenced in the present boundaries of St. Clair county previous to 1800. *Turky Hill*, a few miles east of Belleville, was first settled in 1798, by William Scott, John and Franklin Jarvis, Hosea Riggs, Saml. Shook, George Stout, and their families. From five to seven miles south-east of Belleville, another settlement was com-



menced about 1797, by Abraham Eyman, John Teter, William Miller and Mr. Randelman.

In 1802, several families commenced settlements in St. Clair county, north of Belleville. Amongst these was Captain Jos. Ogle and his sons, J. J. Whiteside, and W. L. Whiteside. About the same time Goshen settlement was commenced, near the bluffs, in the present boundary of Madison county, southwest of Edwardsville; and the settlements on Wood river and Rattan's prairie, a few miles east of the present site of Alton.

From this period until the organization of the territory of Illinois, new settlements were formed in Gallatin, Johnson, Union and Jackson counties; and in White county, on the Wabash. In 1810, so great had been the increase that the census gives the population of the territory at 12,284 inhabitants. At the same time Indiana territory reported 24,520.

In July, 1790, there were one hundred and forty-three heads of families in Vincennes, who were residents of that place at or before 1783; and eighty Americans who claimed rights to lands in Knox county.

The act of Congress for the organization of the Illinois territory in 1809, has already been mentioned. [Annals, 576, 577.] The territorial government was begun in due form on April 25th, 1809, on which day, the late Nathaniel Pope, the Secretary and acting Governor, took the customary oath.

We here give the commission of the Secretary from the President, and the oath of office administered by judge Shrader, one of the United States' Judges for the territory of Louisiana.

"James Madison, President of the United States of America, to all who shall see these presents, Greeting:—

Know YE, that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence, and abilities of Nathaniel Pope, of the Louisiana territory, I have nominated, and by the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him Secretary to and for the Illinois territory; and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office, with all the powers, privileges and emoluments to the same of right appertaining, for the term of four years from the date hereof, unless the President of the United States for the time being, should be pleased sooner to revoke and determine this commission.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.





Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the seventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the thirty-third.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,

R. SMITH, Secretary of State."

The following was the oath of office :

Territory of Louisiana.

*Be it remembered*, That on the 25th day of April, 1809, personally appeared before me, Otho Shrader, one of the Judges in and over the Territory of Louisiana, Nathaniel Pope, Esq., appointed Secretary in and for the Illinois territory, by commission of the President of the United States, bearing date the 7th day of March last past, and took the following oath, to wit : That he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he will perform the duties of his said office with fidelity, to the best of his knowledge and judgment.

NAT. POPE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me at the town of Ste. Genevieve, the day and year aforesaid.

OTHO SHRADER.

We give these forms as a specimen, for the information of our young readers, and others who may desire to know how such government matters are conducted. In substance, the commission and form of oath is the same for United States officers in all territorial organizations.

On the 28th of April, a proclamation was issued by the Secretary as acting governor, making the counties of St. Clair and Randolph, counties of the Illinois territory. The next day, (29th,) application having been made to the acting governor, by affidavit before a justice of the peace, charging Jas. Dunlap with the murder of Rice Jones, and requesting the governor of the Orleans territory to deliver up said Dunlap. This murder was the result of an affray between the parties, the particulars of which are not distinct in the mind of the writer.

On the 3d of May, the following persons were commissioned by the acting governor as justices of the peace :—

Nicholas Jarrot, John Hay, Caldwell Cairns, Thomas Todd, Jacob A. Boyer, Jas. Lemen, sen., Enoch Moore, D. Badgley, James Bankston, William Biggs, Robert Elliot, John Finlay,



David White, Samuel S. Kennedy, Antoine Deschamps, Harvey M. Fisher, and Nicholas Boilvin. John Hays was appointed Sheriff, Enoch Moore Coroner, and Elias Rector, Attorney General.

On the 11th of June, Ninian Edwards, Governor, arrived from Kentucky, and entered on the duties of his office. He had taken the oath before the Hon. Thomas Todd, Judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky. On the 16th of the same month the Governor and two Judges, constituting the legislative authority in the first stage of the territorial government, re-enacted the laws of the territory of Indiana, that were applicable to Illinois. John Hay, (not the sheriff mentioned above,) was appointed clerk of the county of St. Clair, which office he held by successive re-appointments until his decease in 1845.

Benjamin H. Doyle, who had been appointed Attorney General in place of Elias Rector, having resigned, on the 30th of December, 1809, John Jourdon Crittenden was appointed Attorney General. On the 9th of April, 1801, the office becoming again vacant, Thomas T. Crittenden was appointed.

For eight years Illinois formed a part of Indiana, and the principal statutes of that territory were re-enacted by the Governor and Judges, and became the basis of statute law in Illinois, much of which, without change of phraseology, remains in the revised code of that State, as the same laws, in substance, originated in the legislation of the Governor and Judges of the North-Western territory; and by the Governor and Judges of Indiana, were enacted in the territory of Louisiana during the period of their temporary jurisdiction west of the Mississippi, we give a synopsis of several of these ancient statutes. Since the penitentiary system of discipline and punishment has been introduced into all these States, the penalty of whipping and other inhuman modes of punishment have been changed to imprisonment with labor.

We extract from the laws published in 1807, by Stout and Smoot, Vincennes, Ia. The volume comprises those acts formerly in force and as revised by Messrs. John Rice Jones and John Johnson, territorial Judges, and passed (after some amendments by the territorial legislature;) with the original acts passed at the first session of the second General Assembly of the territory.



At that period the counties in the whole territory, including Illinois, were Dearborn, Clark and Knox, (which probably included the eastern side of Illinois) in Indiana; and St. Clair and Randolph, in Illinois.

*Justices of the Peace.*—A competent number for each county,—nominated and commissioned by the Governor;—power to take all manner of recognizances and obligations as any Justices of the Peace in the U. States;—all to be certified to the Court of Common Pleas at next session,—but those for a felony belong to the Court of Oyer and Terminer. One or more Justices of the Peace, may hear and determine, by due course of law, any petty crimes and misdemeanors, where the punishment shall be fine only, not exceeding three dollars.—Justices required to commit the offender when crime was perpetrated in their sight without further testimony. All warrants to be under the hand and seal of the justice. Justices to have power to punish by fine, as provided in the statute, all assaults and batteries not of an aggravated nature; and cause to be arrested all affrayers, rioters and disturbers of the peace, and bind them over by recognizance to appear at the next General Court, or Court of Common Pleas, to be held within the county, and to require such persons to give security. Justices of the Peace to examine into all homicides, murders, treasons, and felonies, done in their respective counties, and commit to prison all persons suspected to be guilty of manslaughter, murder, treason, or other capital offence, and hold to bail all persons suspected to be guilty of lesser offences; and require sureties for the good behavior of idle, vagrant, disorderly characters; swindlers and gamblers, as well as every description of disorderly and vagrant persons.

*Courts.*—Courts of Common Pleas were organized in each county, of three Judges, any two of whom were a quorum.—They were appointed and commissioned by the Governor for and during good behavior. Said Court to hear and determine, according to the common law, all crimes and misdemeanors, the punishment whereof did not extend to life, limb, imprisonment for one year, or forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands and tenements. This Court held pleas of *assize*, *scire facias*, *replevins*, and was empowered to hear and determine all manner of pleas, suits, actions and crimes, real, personal, and mixed, according to law. The Court held annually six ses-



sions, at three of which no suits for criminal causes should be tried. [This provision was made for speedy justice in all civil actions.]

If the court was not opened on the day appointed, the sheriff could adjourn from day to day for two days, and then until the next term.

Compensation of the judges of this court was two dollars and fifty cents per day, paid from the county levy.

This court had power to take all recognizances and obligations, and all not triable in said court to be certified to the next court of oyer and terminer. All fines to be duly and truly assessed according to the quality of the offence, without affection or partiality.

Criminals who had absconded from the counties to be brought back by warrant. Any person aggrieved may appeal to the General Court. All writs issued to be in the name of the United States. Judges had power to grant under seal, *replevins*, *writs of partition*, *writs of view*, and all other writs and process, under said pleas and actions, cognizable in said court, as occasion may require.

The court may issue subpoenas, under seal, and signed by any clerk, into any county in the territory, summoning any witness. The clerk of said court was appointed by the governor during good behavior.

*Supreme Court.*—Styled General Court—held twice a year at Vincennes, first Tuesdays in April and September;—had authority to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, *certiorari*, and writs of *error*. The members of the court were constituted *circuit judges*, and required to hold a circuit court once in each year in the counties of Dearborn, Clark, Randolph and St. Clair. This court was empowered to hear and determine all cases, matters and things, cognizable in said court;—to examine and correct errors of inferior courts, and punish;—to punish the “contempts, omissions, neglects, favors, corruptions and defaults of all justices of peace, sheriffs, coroners, clerks, and all other officers;—award process to collect all fines, forfeitures and amercements;”—to hold courts of oyer and terminer, and general jail delivery. The governor was empowered to call a special term for capital offences.

Jurymen were required to attend, and fined for non-attend-





ance, not exceeding eight dollars in the General Court, and five dollars in the court of common pleas.

*Sheriffs* were appointed by the governor, and bonds of four thousand dollars required. Their duty was to keep the peace, cause all offenders to give recognizances, quell and suppress all affrays, routs, riots and insurrections, and call to their aid all the power of the county; pursue, apprehend and commit to jail all criminals, felons, traitors and fugitives from justice; execute all processes, attend all courts of record; have custody of the jail of the county, and do all other duties enjoined by law.

*Oaths of office.*—Every person appointed to a civil office must make oath, or affirmation. The form used was as follows:—

"I, A. B. being appointed to the office of —, do solemnly swear I will execute the duties of my said office, according to the best of my skill and understanding, without favor, or partiality, so help me God."

Any officer or other person scrupulously conscientious of taking an oath, may *Affirm* according to the following form:—

"I, A. B., being appointed to the office of —, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm, that I will well and truly execute the duties of my said office, according to the best of my skill and understanding, without fraud or partiality, and I declare and affirm under the pains and penalties of perjury."

Oaths and affirmations to be taken before the governor, or such other persons as he may appoint and commission; and in absence of the governor, by the judges.

*Crimes and Punishments.*—Capital crimes are treason, murder, arson, rape, and horse-stealing, on *second* conviction. Petit treason defined and punished as murder. Capital punishment to be inflicted by hanging.

*Manslaughter* punished as the common law heretofore pointed out. *Burglary* by whipping, not more than thirty-nine lashes, and to find sureties for good behavior for three years; and on default of sureties, to be committed to jail for the term of three years.

If goods were actually stolen, the culprit to be fined treble the value of the goods stolen. If personal violence or injury were done, the penalty was forfeiture of all the estate of the



convict, out of which the party injured was to be remunerated. If death was caused, it was deemed murder.

*Robbery of goods by force on the highway or field, the same as burglary.* If any person was killed, the act was murder. All abettors were regarded principals.

*Riots and unlawful Assemblies.*—Three or more persons assembling for mischief, or intention of any unlawful violence against the person or property of another, were fined each the sum of sixteen dollars and costs, and had to find securities for good behavior six months. In case of riots, all ministerial and judicial officers present, were required to make proclamation. If the rioters did not disperse, then they were required to call on all persons near, to suppress it;—if they cannot, then call on the military. If any citizen or soldier refuses to act, he was fined ten dollars. If any rioters were killed by the citizens or authorities when called on, the act was not criminal.

*For obstructing lawful authority,* the fine was not to exceed three hundred dollars; to be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, and find security for good behavior one year. On second conviction, the penalty was fine, whipping, and surety for three years.

*Perjury.*—Fine not exceeding sixty dollars, or be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; sit in the pillory not exceeding two hours, and be incapacitated for giving testimony, or being a juror, or sustaining any civil or military office. Procuring perjury, the same as if committed by the individual.

*Larceny.*—First offence, the penalty was to restore the value two-fold; or be whipped not over thirty-one stripes;—second offence, restitution, a fine not exceeding four-fold, and whipped not exceeding thirty-nine stripes. If the culprit had no property to pay the fine, the sheriff was to bind him out to servitude, under direction of the court, seven years. Receivers of stolen goods to be deemed principals, and punished accordingly. Any person compounding for stolen goods, upon conviction, shall forfeit twice the value, but no person was debarred from taking his own property if he prosecuted the thief. No parent was obliged to prosecute his own child.

*Forgery.*—Penalty, double the sum defrauded by the forgery, imposed as a fine,—one half to the party injured—the culprit rendered incapable of giving testimony, serving on a jury, or



sustaining any office of trust;—and to set in the pillory not less than three hours. All persons aiding to be deemed principals.

*Usurpation of Office.*—On conviction, to be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.

*Assault and Battery.*—Fine not over one hundred dollars, and surety for good behavior one year.

*Fraudulent Deeds;*—with intent to deceive and defraud, were null and void;—fine not over three hundred dollars, and damages to the injured party.

*Disobedience of Children or Servants.* On complaint to justice of the peace, he may send to jail, or the house of correction, to remain there until sufficiently humbled. For striking the parent or master, on conviction before two justices, the party shall be whipped not exceeding ten stripes.

*Obtaining Goods under Fraudulent Pretences.*—Penalty same as larceny.

*Arson.*—For setting fire to, or burning any building, the penalty was death!

*Horse-stealing.*—First conviction to pay the value and costs, and receive not less than fifty, nor more than two hundred stripes; and stand committed to jail until the value and costs were paid. For second conviction, death!

*Hog-stealing.*—For stealing, marking, or altering the marks of the hog kind; penalty not less than fifty nor more than two hundred dollars; and also not less than twenty-five, nor over thirty-nine stripes. Persons may mark their own unmarked hogs while running at large.

For altering or defacing any marks or brands of cattle, horses, hogs, etc., penalty, five dollars, besides the value of the animal. Prosecution to be within six months after discovery: and, moreover, to receive forty stripes. For second offence, to pay the fine aforesaid, and stand in the pillory two hours, and be branded on the left hand with the letter T.

For mis-marking or branding, etc., fine, five dollars.

[In all frontier settlements, horses, cattle, hogs, etc., run at large on the range. Horses are commonly branded, and cattle and hogs marked in the ear: each settler having his peculiar mark, which is recorded in books of the county. Hence the severe penalties for marking, etc.]

Persons who know of this offence and conceal it, and not



discover it to some magistrate within ten days, shall pay a fine of ten dollars. Persons killing cattle or hogs in the woods, shall show the heads to some magistrate, or to two substantial freeholders, within three days, on penalty of ten dollars. Every man shall have an ear-mark, and record it in the clerk's office of the county where he resides.

*Maiming.*—Penalty for unlawfully cutting, maiming, biting, gouging a member or limb, maliciously and in fighting, fine not less than fifty, nor more than one thousand dollars; to be confined in jail not less than one, nor more than six months; one-fourth of the fine to the territory, and three-fourths to the party injured. For want of means to pay the fine, the party to be sold for a term not exceeding five years.

*Sodomy*, is defined the crime "against nature," and with beasts. Fine not less than fifty, nor more than five hundred dollars; imprisonment not less than one, nor more than five years; whipping not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred stripes; and accounted infamous, and incapable of holding any office, or giving testimony.

*Bigamy.*—Penalty, to be whipped not less than one hundred nor more than three hundred stripes; fine, not less than one hundred, nor more than five hundred dollars, for the use of the party injured; and imprisonment not less than six, nor more than twelve months, and made infamous. *Provided*, one party be beyond the seas for seven years, or elsewhere the same period and not heard from, the marriage is lawful. Forceful or stolen marriages made felony.

For marrying a minor without the guardian's consent;—imprisonment not more than two years.

*Selling Criminals.*—Persons convicted and unable to pay fines and costs, may be sold, or hired out to pay the demand. If such persons abscond, they may be whipped thirty-nine stripes, and serve two days for one.

*Marriages.*—Males of seventeen, and females of fourteen years, may lawfully marry. Judges of the General Court, and Court of Common Pleas; Justices of the Peace in each county; Ministers of the Gospel in any religious society in the district in which they are settled; and the society of Quakers in their public meetings, may join together the parties in marriage. Intentions of the parties to be published, either three times in religious meetings, or a public notice set





up under the hand and seal of a magistrate;—or a license from the clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas, authorizing marriage. Fee for license one dollar, and the clerk to record the certificate of the person who officiates. Males under the age of twenty-one, and females under eighteen years, not to marry, unless leave be obtained of the parents and guardian.

[The plan of license from the clerk, has been the exclusive mode in Illinois.]

*Coroners* to be appointed by the Governor in each county, and their duties were prescribed by law.

*Townships*.—The Court of Common Pleas were authorized to divide the counties into townships, and establish boundaries to the same.

[In Illinois, the township divisions were abolished, and the only civil division has been counties, until recently under the new Constitution, the counties are authorized to organize townships, upon a vote of the people.]

*Prisons and Prison Bounds*.—Courts of Common Pleas to lay off prison bounds, not to exceed more than two hundred yards from the jail. Persons imprisoned for debt, by giving bond with double security for the debt, may use bounds. [No imprisonment for debt has existed in these *States*; consequently "prison bounds" are unknown]

Persons who convey tools and other aid in the escape of a prisoner, to be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars; and if the prisoner escape, the abettor to be liable to the same penalty as the prisoner. But if liable to capital punishment, he who aids in escape, shall be fined, whipped, imprisoned, stand in the pillory, or sit on the gallows with a rope around his neck, as the Court may order. Jailors who suffer a prisoner to escape voluntarily, shall suffer the same penalties as any other abettor.

The Judges of the Court of Common Pleas to enquire into the condition of the prison at each term.

Sheriffs required to keep persons of different sexes in separate rooms, unless married; to provide proper food, meat, drink and bread; and if the prisoner be unable to pay, the county to be taxed for such expenses.

*Execution Laws*.—Real estate to be sold for debt, under judgment. Personal property to be advertised by the sheriff, ten days previous to sale.



*Administration Laws.*— Clerks of the Courts of Common Pleas to take proofs of wills; grant letters of administration during vacancy of Court. The Court of Common Pleas was the Probate Court. Rights of minors and orphans well guarded and secured. No minor or orphan to be put under the control of persons of a different religious persuasion from their parents; nor against their own mind or inclination.

The true interest or meaning of testator to be duly regarded in all wills. Administrators to give bonds with two or more sureties; respect being had to the value of the estate. Children of intestates to share equally in the distribution of the estate. When no heirs, the widow *to have one half the estate*. Courts of Common Pleas may order sale of real estate, where the personal estate is not sufficient to pay the debts, or support and educate the children.

*Tavern Licenses.*—No person to keep a tavern, ale-house, dram-shop, or house of entertainment, [in which any intoxicating liquor is sold] without license, under penalty of one dollar each day; two-thirds to the poor of the county; and one-third to the informer. No licensed person shall allow drunkenness, gaming, etc., in or about his house, under penalty of five dollars.

All tavern keepers shall provide good entertainment for man and beast; penalty five dollars.

The Court shall demand twelve dollars for license to keep a tavern, annually. No license to be granted unless the person becomes bound to the Governor of the Territory to keep an orderly house, and conform to the law in every respect.

Another act provided that no license shall be granted, "unless the person requiring the same shall first become bound to the Governor of the Territory, with security, if required, in any sum not exceeding three hundred dollars, that he, she, or they, obtaining such license, shall, at all times, be prepared to accommodate four lodgers, and stabling and feed for four horses."

Severe penalties were enacted for selling intoxicating liquors to Indians, slaves, apprentices and minors.

We have given a synopsis only of such statutes as may serve to illustrate the principles of Territorial Legislation in all the North-Western region. Most of the same principles have been transferred to Oregon, and form the basis of law in



that remote Territory. Similar statutes pertaining to the Territory of Louisiana, may be found in the Territorial Laws of Missouri, 1842, volume i. pp. 15 to 66.

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NOTE.—Since the caption of this chapter was prepared and went to press, we have thought it to be expedient to alter our plan. "Incidents of war in Illinois," we have reserved for the next chapter, and substituted the foregoing "*Synopsis*," in its place. By an oversight, the caption of Section First, was left out in the contents of the chapter.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

Threatening aspects of the Indians—Various incidents of the War in Illinois and Missouri—Expedition to Peoria and Erection of Fort Clark.

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#### SECTION FIRST.

##### *Indian Hostilities Threatened.*

The manifestation of hostile intentions among some of the tribes of northern Indians, was made as early as 1809. Even in December, 1808, the sub-agent on the Missouri, wrote to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, as follows:—

"I am sorry to inform you, that on the 15th instant, a certain John Rusty was fired upon and killed, about six miles above this place, [Fort Osage.] Rusty belonged to McClelland's party of hunters.

There were only two men in a canoe; the survivor was unable to ascertain to what nation of Indians the party belonged. On that subject there are various conjectures; some suspect the Kansas, others the Iowas, the Ottoes, the Sioux, and the Panis."

By the requisition of the Secretary of War, under the act of Congress of 1808, for arming and equipping one hundred thousand militia in the United States, Governor Lewis of the



territory of Louisiana, made proclamation for raising and equipping three hundred and seventy-seven militia of the territory, which were duly apportioned in the counties of St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, and Arkansas.

On the 28th of June, 1809, Nicholas Jarrot, of Cahokia, who had just returned from Prairie du Chien, made affidavit, that the British Agents and traders at that place, and on the Frontiers of Canada, were stirring up the Indians, furnishing them guns and ammunition, and preparing them for hostile demonstrations.

In November, a communication from Messrs. Portier and Bleakly, of Prairie du Chien, denying the statements of M. Jarrot. They were persons implicated. About the same period, hostile demonstrations were made on the part of the Sac and Fox nations, against Fort Madison. During the same month, hostilities commenced between the Osages and Iowas; the latter having killed some of the former, not far from where Liberty is now situated, north of the Missouri river. In 1810, hostile demonstrations were made by the Indians on the Wabash. [Annals, 577 to 581.]

It was in July, 1810, that a band of hostile Indians, supposed to be Pottawatomies, came into a frontier settlement on the Loutre, at the upper part of Loutre Island, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Gasconade river, and stole a number of horses. A company was raised, consisting of Stephen Cooper, William T. Cole, Messrs. Brown, Gooch, Patton, and another person, making six, who followed the Indians across Grand Prairie to a branch of Salt river, called Bone Lick. The party discovered the Indians, eight in number, who, in the retreat, threw off their packs and plunder, and scattered in the woods. Night coming on, the party struck a camp and immediately lay down to sleep, though Stephen Cole, the leader, warned them against it, and proposed a guard. This notion was hooted at as an evidence of cowardice. About mid-night they were awakened by the "Indian yell" and the death-dealing bullet! Stephen Cole killed four Indians and wounded the fifth, though severely wounded himself. W. T. Cole, his brother, was killed at the commencement of the fight. Two others of the party were killed.

The survivors reached the settlements next morning to tell





the dreadful tidings, and a party returned to the ground, buried the dead, but found the Indians had escaped.

We obtained this incident from Samuel Cole, in 1849, whose father was killed in the action, but he gave it from memory, and placed it in 1807. The early files of the "Gazette," published in St. Louis from 1808, is our authority for the date of this and several preceding incidents.

The settlement on the Loutre, commenced, probably, in 1806 or 1807, and until 1810, was the "Far West," except the French hamlet of Cote Sans Dessein. During that year emigrant families found their way to the "Boone's Lick country," now Howard county, Missouri. The incidents of the war in that quarter, we will leave for a subsequent section.

In July, 1811, a company of "rangers," or mounted riflemen, was raised in Goshen settlement, Illinois. The intelligence of the battle of Tippecanoe was peculiarly alarming to the inhabitants of Illinois and Missouri, and measures as prompt and efficient as circumstances admitted, were adopted by the Governors of the two territories.

Early in 1812, the Indians on the Upper Mississippi were very hostile, and committed frequent murders.

An express from Fort Madison came down the river on the ice in a sleigh, with some traders, and reached St. Louis on the 13th of February. They were fired on frequently by war parties, and especially a few miles above Salt river, where the Indians chased them some distance. A family by the name of O'Neal was killed in the district of St. Charles, about the same time.

The following item from the Louisiana Gazette of March 21, is corroborated by other evidence:

"Since Christmas last, the following murders have been committed by the Indians in this country. *Two* persons near the Mines on the Mississippi, *nine* in the district of St. Charles, within the settlements, supposed to be killed by the Kickapoos; *one* man at Fort Madison, on the third instant, by the Winnebagoes. There were several men who left Fort Madison for this part of the territory, about the 17th February, who are supposed to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, as they have not been heard of.

"Main Poc, the Pottawatomie chief, is preparing a war party to proceed against the Osages. This fellow has been lately at Fort Malden, and it is thought at Peoria that he intends to strike at the whites.



"Travelers and spies who have been amongst them, all concur in the same story, that the Indians have no desire to make peace with us; that red wampum is passing through the upper villages, from the Sioux of St. Peters, to the head of the Wabash; that at every council fire the Americans are devoted and proscribed; and in short, that a general combination is ripening fast."

At the same period, the few companies of rangers, raised by the act of Congress, and the militia volunteers, were the only defence of the towns and settlements of Missouri and Illinois.

A company of rangers under command of Capt. Kibby, in the district of St. Charles, as fine a body of hardy pioneers as ever took the field, by constant and rapid movements, protected the tract of country from the mouth of Salt river to Loutre Island on the Missouri.

In the month of April, 1812, a deputation of Pottawatomies, Kickapoos and Chippeways, came down the Mississippi, headed by Gomo, to negotiate a treaty with Gov. Edwards. They met at Cahokia, where the Governor addressed them in a forcible speech, told them of the strong desire of our government to maintain peace and harmony with all the Indian nations;—warned them of the arts and deceptions of the Shawanese prophet, and the agents and traders from Canada; assured them he perfectly understood the hostile dispositions of the Indians; the murders and depredations already committed; and the combination amongst the tribes attempted to be formed; and should adopt energetic measures to protect the white people. He insisted that the murderers must be delivered up, or the whole nation would suffer.

They professed to be humble, professed their inability to deliver up the murderers, laid the blame on the Winnebagoes, and promised good behavior on their part. Some of these fellows were concerned in the massacre at Chicago in August.

During the summer of 1812, hostile Indians were lurking about the settlements in the Boone's Lick country, and along the Missouri river. Fort Mason had been established on the Mississippi, as a rendezvous for the United States troops and rangers. Of this class of troops, who furnished their own horses, equipments, forage and rations, at one dollar per day,



ten companies were raised by an act of the last Congress; four in Illinois, two in Missouri, and four in Indiana. The term of service was for one year, but by re-enlistments were continued from year to year during the war.

Two companies in Illinois, and one in Missouri, had been raised the preceding year. These rangers, as a protection to the defenceless settlements, were a most effective corps.—Many were heads of families, and all were of the most enterprising and industrious class of citizens, and deeply interested in the defence of their families and friends.

It is no more than justice to this worthy class of citizens, who defended the settlements in the now flourishing States of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, that we should devote a page or two of this work to this subject. And we cannot do it better justice than in the language of a *Memorial* from the General Assembly of Illinois, in 1833, to the Congress of the United States, asking for a donation of land, as was given to regular soldiers.

*"To the honorab'le the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled :*

Your memorialists, the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, would respectfully present to your honorable body, the necessity and justice of calling your attention to the relief of the soldiers who defended this frontier during the late war:—The class of citizens, now for the first time attempted to be brought forward to your consideration, are not the least deserving your aid, though they are the last almost of your defenders of our country who have asked for any remuneration. Their claims to this attention and favor of Government will be better understood by a brief outline of the condition of the country, the nature of their services, and the great reliance and dependence placed upon their faithfulness, fortitude and courage. In the year 1812, and long before, the settlements of this country were confined to a few inhabitants on the margins of the rivers Mississippi and Ohio, while all between was a wilderness so little frequented by the whites, that it was the constant abode of the Indian; when the late war broke out, the inhabitants were always open to their attack, and actually subject to their perpetual hostilities. In this state of things the weakness of their situation caused them to erect a house here and there something larger than their ordinary dwellings, which they dignified with the name of "station;" some of them had not even this primitive defence, and with it they were exposed, either to the open assault, or



the sly ambush of the enemy, and were daily falling a human sacrifice to the most ferocious cruelty. To depict their situation, in one word, it is only necessary to say, that a few adventurers had left a peaceable and cultivated land, where the savage war-whoop was known only by "tale or history," and settled in an Indian country, destitute of money and the necessities they had been accustomed to; a little spot of corn ground was their only hope of subsistence, and with a sword slung to the plough handle they cultivated it. Thus the lives and property of the whites were *always* in jeopardy and often destroyed; and the government of the territory itself, which had been recently established under the authority of the United States, was immediately in danger. The late war with Great Britain breaking out just at this time with all its violence, and while the great body of the forces of the United States were engaged in defending the more populous and valuable parts of the Union, this territory was without the parental aid of the Government; left to rely upon its own strength and courage for its defence against the Indians, who lay encamped in myriads within it. The then Governor of the Territory, Ninian Edwards, by his prompt and vigorous exertions, contributed greatly to advance the means of defence, and by acts of disinterested patriotism and magnanimity, almost unexampled, relieved the necessities of the soldiers by advancing from his private funds their pay, without which they could not have rendered any service. Relying upon individual means and seeking only to relieve the country of distress, the class of citizens whose claims it is the object of this memorial to urge, came boldly forward, and did effectually defend the citizens and property of the United States. It has not escaped the observation of your memorialists that it may be contended that *one dollar* per day, which was the allowance to each individual, was more than usual for soldiers, and extremely liberal; but in the estimation of your memorialists, their services have far outgone that consideration, for the ranger was bound, out of this, to furnish himself with a horse, arms, clothing, ammunition, and provisions; not one cent was ever contributed by Government towards their sustenance, no convenience provided, but that, which their own well earned money paid for.

Many of them had families, whose reliance for support was upon him who was upon duty, and who were provided for out of his wages; while in service they often failed in cultivating their farms for an entire season, and the loss of a crop to the inhabitants of the territory was a misfortune of no small magnitude. Add to these circumstances, the information that a horse of middling qualities would cost 100 dollars, a gun from twenty-five to forty dollars, and all other articles of consumption, use or necessity cost in the same proportion. Deduct





from their pay those articles of necessity, without which they were not qualified for service, what remains as a remuneration for the time, service and devotion of these citizen soldiers? Your memorialists answer unhesitatingly, *nothing*. They left their fire-sides, their families, and their farms, penetrated the uninhabited wilderness, traversed countries without roads or bridges; and met without a murmur, all the inclemencies of the weather "to beard the lion in his den," the savage in his ambuscade, and rid the country of violence, outrage and death.

For services like these, your memorialists relying confidently upon the justice and liberality of Congress, ask for a remuneration to all these organized militiamen, mounted militiamen, and rangers who defended this frontier during the late war under the authority of Congress. There are near thirty millions of acres of unappropriated lands in the State of Illinois. A liberal donation of this land would be but little expense to the General Government, and would be of great advantage to those for whom it is asked, and an easy method of remunerating such signal services and so devotedly rendered. Which was read.

On the question, Will the House concur with the committee, in the adoption of said memorial?

It was decided in the affirmative.

## SECTION SECOND.

### *Incidents of the War continued.*

It was in the month of April, 1812, that three families were murdered by the Indians, at no great distance from Vincennes. One was the family of Mr. Hutson, on the Wabash; another, the family of Mr. Harriman, on the Embarras, and the third a family of Mr. Hinton, on Driftwood fork of White river. In May, a party of Indians came to the house of a Mr. McGowan, about forty miles from Vincennes, and killed him in bed. His family escaped.

The news of the declaration of war produced no other effect than to inspire the people with more zeal in defending the settlements and repelling the savage foe that hovered around them.

There was a United States factory and a small stockade fort at Bellevue, up the Mississippi, which was besieged by a party of Winnebagoes, about two hundred in number. It was not an eligible situation for defence, as from points of steep and high bluffs, the invaders could throw fire-brands and burn-



ing sticks on the block-houses. The commanding officer, Lt. Thomas Hamilton, with Lieutenant B. Vasquez and a small force, resolutely defended the fort, and drove off the assailants.

We have already given a sketch of the expedition of Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell, against the Kickapoos at the head of Peoria Lake. [Annals, 617—619.]

The year 1813, opened with gloomy prospects to these far off and exposed territories. On the 9th of February, ten Indians contrived to elude the vigilance of the rangers in Illinois, passed down near the Wabash, and massacred two families at the mouth of Cache [Cash] river, on the Ohio, seven miles from the Mississippi.

Indians frequently crossed the Mississippi above the mouth of the Illinois river, and committed depredations, killed and scalped individuals, and in some instances families, in Saint Charles county. The exposed settlements were in the district now included in Lincoln and Pike counties.

In the month of March, David McLain, a minister of the gospel, and a Mr. Young, traveling from the Boone's Lick settlement into Kentucky, after having crossed the Kaskaskia river at "Hill's ferry," in the present county of Clinton, in Illinois, were fired on by a party of Indians. Young was killed and scalped; McLain's horse was shot, and fell, but he escaped in the woods, and ran with great speed, with several Indians in chase. Soon all fell back but one, who was an athletic fellow, and appeared determined not to lose his prey. Mr. McLain was encumbered with a thick overcoat, wrappers on his legs and spurs on his feet. The Indian fired and missed him, which gave him a little chance to throw off his coat, in hopes the prize would attract the attention of the savage. Finding no other Indians in pursuit, and as this one approached, McLain would make signs of surrender, until the Indian was within a few feet, when he would assume an attitude of defiance, watch the motion of his enemy, and at the instant he fired, dodge the ball and then put on all his energy to escape. The contest continued for more than an hour, during which his foe fired at him seven times. In one case, as he threw his breast forward, he unfortunately threw his elbow back and received the ball in his arm.

During the chase he contrived to throw off his boots. They



had made a considerable distance in the timbered bottom down the river. Finding himself nearly exhausted, the last and only chance was to swim the river. He plunged in, making the utmost effort of his remaining strength, and yet he had to keep an eye constantly fixed on his wily foe, who had loaded his gun the eighth time, and from the bank brought it to a poise, and fired a second after McLain had dove in deep water. By swimming diagonally down stream he had gained on his pursuer, who, with the peculiar yell on such occasions, gave up the chase. Doubtless his report to the *braves* was, that he had followed a "great medicine," who was so charmed that his musket balls could not kill him. Mr. McLain was so exhausted that it was with the utmost difficulty he could crawl up the bank; having, in a state of profuse perspiration, plunged into the cold water of the river. He was wet, chilled, badly wounded, and scarcely able to stand. Two days previous, two or three families about Hill's ferry, had become alarmed from Indian "signs," and removed to the west of Silver creek. It was thirty-five miles to the Badgley settlement, which McLain, after incredible effort and suffering, reached the next morning. Here with his wound and a severe fever, he lay several weeks. A party of volunteers went over the Kaskaskia, buried Mr. Young, found Mr. McLain's saddlebags, but saw no Indians.

The fact of this rencontre may be found in the "Missouri Gazette" of March 20th; the particulars we obtained from the heroic sufferer at his residence in Howard county, Mo., in 1818.

A farmer, of the name of Boltenhouse, was killed near the Wabash, a few miles south of Albion, in a little prairie that perpetuates his name. A Mr. Moore and his son, while hauling a load of corn in the South-Eastern part of Jefferson county, Illinois, were killed and scalped in the prairie that bears his name. One or two more persons were killed between that place and the U. S. Saline.

The "Gazette" reckons "sixteen men, women, and children who fell victims to savage ferocity, in Missouri and Illinois, between February 8th and March 20th."

The same paper has a communication from a gentleman in Illinois, of the efforts of the "rangers" and "volunteers," un-



der the direction of Governor Edwards, to protect the settlements.

"We have now nearly finished twenty-two family forts, [stations,] extending from the Mississippi, nearly opposite Bellefontaine, [mouth of the Missouri,] to the Kaskaskia river, a distance of about sixty miles. Between each fort, spies are to pass and repass daily, and communicate throughout the whole line, which will be extended to the U. S. Saline, and from thence to the mouth of the Ohio. Rangers and mounted militia, to the amount of five hundred men, constantly scour the country from twenty to fifty miles in advance of our settlements, so that we feel perfectly easy as to an attack from our 'red brethren,' as Mr. Jefferson very lovingly calls them."

Notwithstanding these measures, the Indians would frequently prowl through the unsettled country between Kaskaskia and the Ohio river, and occasionally commit outrages. On the last of April they attacked a house about twelve miles south-east of that town, and tomahawked and scalped a boy.

Amongst the British traders, that had great influence over the northern Indians, was a Mr. Robert Dickson, who, at this period, had stationed himself at Prairie du Chien, and furnished the savages with large supplies of goods and munitions of war. Mr. Dickson had the manners and appearance of a gentleman, but doubtless, as did many other British subjects, who anticipated a war between Great Britain and the United States, felt himself authorized to enlist the Indians as partisans.

About the first of June, (1813,) Mr. Manuel Lisa, a citizen of St. Louis, and an acting partner of the Missouri Fur Company, arrived from the Mandan villages on the Upper Missouri. He reported, [Gazette, June 5,] that the Auricarees, Chiennes, Gros Ventres, Crows, and Arrapahoes, were hostile to the Americans; that the British North West Company had a number of trading houses within a short distance of the waters of the Missouri, and were active in their endeavors to enlist the savages against the Americans.

About this period, Benjamin Howard, Governor of Missouri, resigned the office, and accepted the commission of Brigadier-General in command of the rangers in both territories, and as the United States government had made no provision to sustain the militia volunteers, those in Illinois were





discharged from further services by Governor Edwards, as Commander-in-chief. The order is dated on the eighth of June.

About twenty horses were stolen by Indians on the remote settlements of Shoal creek, Illinois, during this month.

Fort Madison, (in Iowa, above the Lower Rapids,) was subject to repeated attacks from the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes.

"On the 16th of July, the enemy carried a block-house, lately erected by the commanding officer, to command a ravine in which they had taken advantage in all their attacks upon this place; they kept up a fire on the garrison for about two hours. This is the ninth or tenth rencontre that has taken place on our frontier, between the 4th and 17th of this month." —[Gazette, July 31st.]

An editorial in the same paper, gives some important facts concerning Prairie du Chien, and the resources at the trading posts in Wisconsin, for supplying both British and Indians in their hostilities. A letter about the same time from Governor Edwards to Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, designed to call the attention of the government to the occupancy of that position, contains similar facts. We copy the editorial:

"Last winter, we endeavored to turn the attention of government towards Prairie du Chien, a position which we ought to occupy, by establishing a military post at the village, or on the Ouisconsin, six miles below.

"For several months we have not been able to procure any other than Indian information from the Prairie, the enemy having cut off all communication with us; but we are persuaded that permanent subsistence can be obtained for one thousand regular troops in the upper lake country. At Prairie du Chien there are about fifty families, most of whom are engaged in agriculture; their common field is four miles long, by half a mile in breadth. Besides this field, they have three separate farms of considerable extent, and twelve horse mills to manufacture their produce.

"At the village of L'abre Croche, an immense quantity of corn is raised; from thence to Milwaukee, on lake Michigan, there are several villages where corn is grown extensively. These supplies, added to the fine fish which abound in the lakes and rivers, will furnish the enemy's garrison with provision in abundance.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Our little garrison on the Mississippi, half way up to the



Prairie, has taught the Indians a few lessons on prudence. With about thirty effective men, those brave and meritorious soldiers, Lieutenant Hamilton and Vasquez, in a wretched pen, improperly called a fort, beat off five hundred savages of the North-west."

This was *Bellevue*, already noticed, and the site of the town of that name in Jackson county, Iowa.

The movements of the government against Canada and the combined forces of the British and Indians, wrought conviction in the sagacious mind of Governor Edwards, that should they be defeated (as was the case at the battle of the Thames,) the savages would retreat, and by marauding bands attack the settlements of Illinois and Missouri. His correspondence on this subject with the War Department was frequent and voluminous. Our limited space will allow only a passing notice of the fact.

Early in August, one man was killed and another wounded in a field near "Stout's fort," on the Cuivre, in St. Charles county. The scattered settlements, through what is now Lincoln and the South-Eastern part of Pike counties, were often harrassed with small scouting parties of Indians, in 1813.— On the 15th of the same month, a party of sixteen picked men from the company of rangers, under the command of Captain Nathan Boone, were attacked late at light, between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, by a party of forty or fifty Indians. Captain Boone formed his men back from the fires, and, as they expected, the Indians rushed on the camping ground. Unfortunately, owing to a recent rain, the guns of the party were wet, did but poor execution, and they were obliged to retreat. One of the party received a slight wound in the hand. This party had been sent out by General Howard as spies.

During the campaign in the summer and autumn of 1813, all the companies of rangers from Illinois and Missouri were under the command of General Howard. Large parties of hostile Indians were known to have collected about Peoria, and scouting parties traversed the district between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, then an entire wilderness.

It was from these marauding parties that the frontier settlements of Illinois and Missouri, were harrassed. It became an object of no small importance, to penetrate the country over



which they ranged, and establish a fort at Peoria, and thus drive them to the northern wilderness. Our authorities for the incidents of the campaign, is a long letter from the honorable John Reynolds; who was a non-commissioned officer in a company of spies; and the "Missouri Gazette," of November 6th. The rendezvous for the Illinois regiment was "Camp Russell," two miles north of Edwardsville. The whole party when collected, made up of the rangers, volunteers and militia, amounted to about fourteen hundred men, under the command of Gen. Howard. Robert Wash, Esq., and Dr. Walker, of St. Louis, were of his staff. Colonels Benjamin Stephenson, then of Randolph county, Illinois, and Alexander McNair, of St. Louis, commanded the regiments. W. B. Whiteside and John Moredock, of Illinois, were Majors in the second regiment, and William Christy and Nathan Boone filled the same office in the first, or Missouri regiment. A Major Desha, a United States officer from Tennessee, was in the army, but what post he occupied we do not learn. Colonel E. B. Clemson, of the United States Army, was Inspector.—Governor Reynolds states, there were some United States rangers from Kentucky, and a company from Vincennes. We have no means of ascertaining the names of all the subaltern officers. We know that Samuel Whiteside, Joseph Phillips, Nathaniel Journey and Samuel Judy, were Captains in the Illinois companies.

The Illinois regiment lay encamped on the Piasau, opposite Portage de Sioux, waiting for more troops, for three or four weeks. They then commenced the march, and swam their horses over the Illinois river, about two miles above the mouth. On the high ground in Calhoun county, they had a skirmish with a party of Indians. The Missouri troops, with General Howard, crossed the Mississippi from Fort Mason, and formed a junction with the Illinois troops. The baggage and men were transported in canoes, and the horses swam the river.

The army marched for a number of days along the Mississippi bottom. On or near the site of Quincy, was a large Sac village, and an encampment, that must have contained a thousand warriors. It appeared to have been deserted but a short period.

The army continued its march near the Mississippi, some distance above the Lower Rapids, and then struck across the



prairies for the Illinois river, which they reached below the mouth of Spoon river, and marched to Peoria village. Here was a small stockade, commanded by Colonel Nicholas of the United States Army. Two days previous, the Indians had made an attack on the fort, and were repulsed. The army, on its march from the Mississippi to the Illinois river, found numerous fresh trails, all passing northward, which indicated that the savages were fleeing in that direction.

Next morning the General marched his troops to the Senatchwine, a short distance above the head of Peoria Lake, where was an old Indian village, called Gomo's village.— Here they found the enemy had taken water and ascended the Illinois. This, and two other villages, were burnt. Finding no enemy to fight, the army was marched back to Peoria, to assist the regular troops in building Fort Clark, so denominated in memory of the old hero of 1778; and Major Christy, with a party, was ordered to ascend the river with two keel boats, duly armed and protected, to the foot of the rapids, and break up any Indian establishments that might be in that quarter. Major Boone, with a detachment, was dispatched to scour the country on Spoon river, in the direction of Rock River.

The rangers and militia passed to the east side of the Illinois, cut timber, which they hauled on truck-wheels by drag ropes to the lake, and rafted it across. The fort was erected by the regular troops under Captain Phillips. In preparing the timber, the rangers and militia were engaged about two weeks.

Major Christy and the boats returned from the Rapids without any discovery, except additional proofs of the alarm and fright of the enemy, and Major Boone returned with his force with the same observations.

It was the plan of General Howard to return by a tour through the Rock River valley, but the cold weather set in unusually early. By the middle of October it was intensely cold, the troops had no clothing for a winter campaign, and their horses would, in all probability, fail; the Indians had evidently fled a long distance in the interior, so that, all things considered, he resolved to return the direct route to Camp Russell, where the militia and volunteers were disbanded on the 22nd of October. Supplies of provisions, and munitions of





war had been sent to Peoria, in boats, which had reached there a few days previous to the army.

It may seem to those, who delight in tales of fighting and bloodshed, that this expedition was a very insignificant affair. Very few Indians were killed, very little fighting done, but one or two of the army were lost, and yet as a means of protecting the frontier settlements of these territories, it was most efficient, and gave at least six months quiet to the people.—After this, Indians shook their heads and said “White men like the leaves in the forest,—like the grass in the prairies,—they grow every where.”

### SECTION THIRD.

#### *Campaign of 1814.*

The first act of hostilities we find on record for 1814, is an attack on a party of surveyors in the vicinity of the United States Saline, in Saline county, Illinois, when Major Nelson Rector was severely wounded. His left arm was broken, a ball entered his left side, below the collar bone, and another cut the skin on the right side of his head. The Indians were concealed under the bank of a creek. This was on the first of March.

Two brothers, by name of Eastwood, were trapping for beaver on the head waters of the Gasconade and White rivers, when they were attacked by a party of Osages, who afterwards said they mistook them for southern Indians, with whom they were at war. They killed one brother, and the other made his escape. The Osage nation professed to be friendly to the United States. Subsequently, on the 27th of May, Pierre Chouteau, Esq., agent for the Osages, arrived in St. Louis, with several chiefs, with three Osages as prisoners, who had been given up as the murderers.

About the first of May, Governor Clark fitted out five barges, with fifty regular troops and one hundred and forty volunteers, and left St. Louis on an expedition to Prairie du Chien. On the 13th of June, Governor Clark, with several gentlemen who accompanied him, returned with one of the barges, having left the officers and troops to erect a fort and maintain the position.

No Indians molested the party till they reached Rock river,



where they had a skirmish with some hostile Sauks. The Foxes resided at Dubuque, and professed to be peaceable, and promised to fight on the American side.

Twenty days before the expedition reached Prairie du Chien, the British trader, Dickson, left that place for Mackinac, with eighty Winnebagoes, one hundred and twenty Follis-avoine, and one hundred Sioux, probably as *recruits* for the British army along the lake country. He had gained information of the expedition of Governor Clark from his Indian spies, and had left Captain Deace with a body of Mackinac fencibles, with orders to protect the place. The Sioux and Renards, (Foxes,) having refused to fight the Americans, Deace and his soldiers fled. The inhabitants also fled into the country, but returned as soon as they learned they were not to be injured. A temporary defence was immediately erected. Lieutenant Perkins, with sixty rank and file from Major Z. Taylor's company of the 7th regiment, took possession of the house occupied by the Mackinac Fur Company, in which they found nine or ten trunks of Dickson's property, with his papers and correspondence. A writer in the "Gazette" says:—

"The farms of Prairie du Chien are in high cultivation; between two and three hundred barrels of flour may be manufactured there this season, besides a vast quantity of corn.

Two of the largest boats were left in command of Aid-de-camp Kennerly, and Captains Sullivan and Yeizer, whose united forces amount to one hundred and thirty-five men. The regulars under command of Lieutenant Perkins, are stationed on shore, and are assisted by the volunteers in building the new fort."

This was called Fort Shelby. On his return, the people of St. Louis gave the Governor a public dinner, and expressed their hearty gratulations for the success of the enterprize.

About the last of June, Captain John Sullivan, with his company of militia, and some volunteers whose term of service had expired, returned from Prairie du Chien, and reported that the fort was finished, the boats well manned and barricaded; that the Indians were hovering around, and had taken prisoner a Frenchman while hunting his horses. The boats employed, carried a six pounder on their main deck, and several howitzers on the quarters and gangway. The men were protected by a musket-proof barricade,



On the 6th of August, the Gazette, (our authority in these details,) states:—

“Just as we had put our paper to press, Lieutenant Perkins, with the troops which composed the garrison at Prairie du Chien, arrived here. Lieutenant Perkins fought the combined force of British and Indians three days and nights, until they approached the pickets by mining; provisions, ammunition and water expended, when he capitulated. The officers to keep their private property, and the whole not to serve until duly exchanged. Five of our troops were wounded during the siege.”

In a letter from Captain Yeizer, to Governor Clark, dated, St. Louis, July 28th, 1814, we find the following facts. Captain Y. commanded one of the gun-boats, a keel-boat fitted up in the manner heretofore described. On the 17th July, at half past one o'clock, from twelve to fifteen hundred British and Indians, marched up in full view of the fort and the town and demanded a surrender, “which demand was positively refused.” They attacked Mr. Yeizer’s boat at three o'clock, at long-shot distance. He returned the compliment by firing round-shot from his six pounder, which made them change their position to a small mound nearer the boat. At the same time the Indians were firing from behind the houses and pickets. The Boat then moved up the river to the head of the village; keeping up a constant discharge of firearms and artillery, which was answered by the enemy from the shore. The enemy’s boats then crossed the river below, to attack the Americans from the opposite side of the river. A galling fire from opposite points was now kept up by the enemy, on this boat, until the only alternative was left for Captain Yeizer to run the boat through the the enemy’s lines to a point five miles below; keeping up a brisk fire.

In the meantime, another gun-boat that lay on shore, was fired on until it took fire and was burnt. In Captain Yeizer’s boat, two officers and four privates were wounded, and one private killed.

The British and Indians were commanded by Colonel McCay, (or Mackey,) who came in boats from Mackinac, by Green Bay and the Wisconsin, with artillery. Their report gives from one hundred and sixty to two hundred regulars, and “Michigan fencibles,” and about eight hundred Indians. They landed their artillery below the town and fort, and formed a



battery ; attacking the forts and the boats at the same time.— After Captain Yeizer's boat had been driven from its anchorage, sappers and miners began operations in the bank, one hundred and fifty yards from the fort. Lieutenant Perkins held out while hope lasted. In the fort were George and James Kennerly, the former an aid to Governor Clark ; the latter a Lieutenant in the militia.

During this season strenuous efforts were made by the small force at command, to plant forts along the Upper Mississippi. *Cape au Gris*, (Cap au Grey) an old French hamlet on the left bank of the Mississippi, a few miles above the mouth of the Illinois river, was the place of rendezvous. Armed boats, already described, the means of transportation.

Among the persons in command were brevet Major Zachary Taylor, (President of the United States, in 1850,) and Captain Campbell, of the United States regular army. Among the commanders of companies, or of boats, we find the names of Captain Whiteside and N. Rector.

A detachment, under command of Major Taylor, left Cape au Gris on the 23d of August, in boats, for the Indian town at Rock River. The detachment consisted of three hundred and thirty-four effective men, officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. A report from the commanding officer to General Howard, dated from Fort Madison, September 6th, and published in the "Missouri Gazette" of the 17th, gives the details of the expedition. They met with no opposition until they reached Rock Island, where Indian villages were situated on both sides of the river, above and below the Rapids.— The object was to destroy these villages and the fields of corn. They continued up the rapids to Campbell's Island, so named from the commander of one of the boats ; so named from some hard fighting his detachment had with some of the Indians.— The policy of the commanding officer was to commence with the upper villages, and sweep both sides of the river. But the policy was interrupted by a party of British, and more than a thousand Indians, with a six and a three pounder, brought from Prairie du Chien. Captains Whiteside and Rector, and the men under their charge, with Lieutenant Edward Hempstead, who commanded a boat, fought the enemy bravely for several hours as they descended the Rapids. The danger consisted in the enemy's shot sinking the boats, and





they were compelled to fall down below the rapids to repair the boats.

"I then called the officers together, and put to them the following question: 'Are we able, 334 effective men, to fight the enemy, with any prospect of success and effect, which is to destroy their villages and corn?' They were of opinion the enemy was at least three men to one, and that it was not practicable to effect either object. I then determined to drop down the river to the Desmoines, without delay, as some of the officers of the rangers informed me their men were short of provisions, and execute the principal object of the expedition in erecting a fort to command the river. \* \* \*

"In the affair at Rock river, I had eleven men badly wounded, three mortally, of whom one has since died.

"I am much indebted to the officers for their prompt obedience to orders, nor do I believe a braver set of men could have been collected than those who compose this detachment. But, Sir, I conceive it would have been madness in me, as well as in direct violation of my orders, to have risked the detachment without a prospect of success.

"I believe I would have been fully able to have accomplished your views, if the enemy had not been supplied with artillery, and so advantageously posted, as to render it impossible for us to have dislodged him, without imminent danger of the loss of the whole detachment."

Fort Johnston, a rough stockade with block-houses of round logs, was then erected on the present site of the town of Warsaw, opposite the mouth of the Desmoines.

On the 18th of September, General Benjamin Howard, whose military district extended from the interior of Indiana to the frontier of Mexico, died in St. Louis, after a short, but painful illness. He was a native of Virginia, removed with his father to Kentucky at an early period, and was engaged in the defence of the frontiers before the treaty of Greenville. After that period, he commenced the study of the law, and in the course of a few years, was ranked among the ablest men of his profession, when he was appointed to a seat on the bench.

About 1806, or 1807, he was elected to Congress from the Lexington district, and was in Congress when he was appointed Governor of Missouri Territory, as the successor of Governor Lewis. An interesting biographical sketch is to be found in the Missouri Gazette, of October 1st. We have also a letter from the venerable David Todd, of Columbia, Missouri, giving a sketch of his family connections, character and



personal appearance, for which we have not room in this section.

Fort Madison, after sustaining repeated attacks from the Indians, was evacuated and burnt. And in the month of October, the people of St. Louis were astounded with the intelligence, that the troops stationed in Fort Johnston, had burnt the block-houses, destroyed the works, and retreated down the river to Cape au Gres. The officer in command, (Major Taylor having previously left that post,) reported they were out of provisions and could not sustain the position. It should be here noticed, that the defeat of the Indians in the battle of the Thames, drove back a large force of hostile savages to the Mississippi.

Colonel Russell, who had been in a bad state of health, arrived in St. Louis on the 8th of October, and soon after held a conference with Governors Clark and Edwards on measures for the future defence of the two territories.

Two rangers were killed by Indians near Cape au Gres, and four more in a skirmish not far from Vincennes.

On the 5th of August, Mr. Henry Cox and his sons, while at work on his farm near Shoal creek, Illinois, were attacked by a party of Indians, one of his sons was killed and shockingly mangled, (so says the Gazette,) and another taken prisoner.

Early in July, a party of Indians entered the Wood river settlement, (five miles east of Alton city,) and massacred a Mrs. Reagan and her two children, after night-fall, as they were returning home from her brother's house, the late Mr. Moore. The husband and father, supposing they had tarried at their relations, was awakened in the morning by a company of rangers, with the distressing intelligence of the massacre of his wife and children, whose mangled remains were but a few rods from the house.

Captain (now General) Samuel Whiteside, with fifty rangers, was on their trail at an early hour, pursued them to the Sangamon river, where they discovered the party just as they entered a dense thicket in the river bottom, by which all escaped but the leader, in whose possession they found the scalp of Mrs. Reagan.

The only incident we find to complete this section, is the adventure of the heroic Thomas Higgins. He was a native of Kentucky, and joined the rangers of Illinois at their first



organization, and continued by annual enlistments until disabled.

A frontier settlement on Shoal creek, in the present county of Bond, had a "station," or block-house, about eight miles south of the present site of Greenville. It was one of the points of rendezvous for the rangers, where Lieutenant Journey and eleven men, including Higgins, were stationed.

On the 20th of August, 1814, Indian signs were discovered in the vicinity; and at night a party was seen prowling about the fort. Before day-light on the 31st, Lieutenant Journey and his command were on their trail. They had not proceeded far on the border of the prairie, before they were in an ambuscade, surrounded with seventy or eighty Indians; and at the first fire, the Lieutenant and three men were killed.—Six fled to the fort, while Higgins remained on the field, as he said "to have one more pull at the enemy." His horse had been shot in the neck, fell on his knees; but rose again in a moment. Higgins thought his horse mortally wounded, dismounted, and resolving to avenge the loss of his comrades, took to a tree. The fog of the early dawn, and the smoke of the Indian guns, which had obscured the atmosphere, now cleared away, and he discovered the Indians. Taking deliberate aim, he fired, and the foremost savage fell. Concealed by the smoke, he reloaded his gun; mounted his wounded horse and turned to retreat, when a familiar voice from the grass hailed him with "Tom, you wont leave *me*?" Turning around, he saw a fellow soldier by the name of Burgess, lying in the grass, wounded and helpless. "Come along," said Higgins. "I can't come," responded Burgess, "my leg is smashed to pieces." Higgins instantly dismounted, and in attempting to lift his friend on the horse, the animal took fright, ran off and left Higgins with the wounded man. He directed him to crawl on one leg and hands through the tallest grass, while he remained behind to protect him from the Indians. In this way Burgess reached the fort. Higgins could best have followed the same trail, but this would endanger his comrade.—He therefore took another direction, concealing himself by a small thicket. As he passed it, he discovered a stout savage near by, and two others approaching. He started for a small ravine, but found one of his legs fail, which, until now, he was scarcely conscious had been wounded in the first recon-



tre. The large Indian pressed him close, and Higgins, knowing the advantage, resolved to halt and dodge the ball. The Indian poised his gun, and Higgins, turning suddenly, received the ball in his thigh. He now fell, rose again; and received the fire of the others; and again fell, severely wounded. The Indians now threw aside their guns and advanced on him with their spears and knives. As he presented his gun first at one, then at the other, each fell back. At last the stout Indian who had fired first, supposing Higgins' gun empty, advanced boldly to the charge, when Higgins fired, and he fell.

Higgins had now four bullets in his body,—an empty gun in his hand—two Indians unharmed before him: and a large party but a short distance in the ravine. Still he did not despair. His two assailants now raised the war-whoop, rushed on him with their spears, and a deadly conflict ensued. They gave him numerous flesh wounds, as the scars we have seen testified. At last one threw his tomahawk, which struck Higgins on his cheek, severed his ear, laid bare his skull to the back of his head, and stretched him on the prairie. Again the Indians rushed on, but Higgins kept them off with his feet, and grasping one of their spears, he arose, seized his rifle and dashed out the brains of his antagonist, but broke his rifle.—The other Indian now raised the yell, and rushed on him and attempted to stab the exhausted ranger with his knife. Higgins still fought with his broken rifle; then with his knife; both were bleeding, and nearly exhausted.

The smoke had cleared away; the party of Indians were in view; and the little garrison at the fort could see the contest, but dared not sally out. There was a woman,—a Mrs. Pursley,—at this crisis urged the rangers to the rescue. They objected,—she taunted them with cowardice,—snatched her husband's rifle from his hand, declared that “so fine a fellow as Tom Higgins, should not be lost for want of help”; mounted a horse, and sallied forth to his rescue. The men, ashamed to be outdone by a woman, followed at full gallop,—reached the spot where Higgins had fainted and fell, before the Indians came up, and brought off the wounded ranger to the fort. For many days his life was despaired of; there was no surgeon; some of his friends cut out two balls from his body; but by careful nursing he recovered. Another ball was extracted from his thigh, by his own hands and razor, some years





after. He was a fine specimen of a frontier man, open hearted, generous; and lived, and died, a few years since in Fayette county.

*Postscript.*—We have discovered—too late to correct the error in the text—a mistake in connecting the battle at the Upper Rapids, by Major Taylor, and a similar action at the same place by Lieutenant Campbell.

Soon after the return of Governor Clark from Prairie du Chien, it was thought expedient by General Howard, (who had just returned from Kentucky,) to send up a force to relieve the volunteer troops, and strengthen that remote post. He therefore sent Lieutenant Campbell, (who was acting as brigade Major) and three keel boats, with 42 regulars, and 66 rangers; and including the sutler's establishment, boatmen and women, making 133 persons. They reached Rock River without difficulty, but at the foot of the rapids, they were visited by large numbers of Sauks and Foxes, pretending to be friendly, and some of them bearing letters from the garrison above to St. Louis. In a short time the contractors and sutler's boats had reached the head of the rapids; the two barges with the rangers followed, and were about two miles ahead of the commander's barge. Here a gale of wind arose and the barge drifted against the little Island, known as Campbell's Island. Here he thought proper to lie by until the wind abated; sentries were stationed at proper distances, and the men were on the Island shore cooking, when the report of several guns announced the attack.

The savages were seen on shore in quick motion; canoes filled with Indians passed to the Island; and in a few moments they found themselves nearly surrounded with five or six hundred Indians, who gave the war-whoop and poured upon them a galling fire. The barges ahead, commanded by Captains Rector and Riggs, attempted to return, but one got stranded on the rapids; the other, to prevent a similar disaster, let go an anchor. The rangers from both these barges opened a brisk fire on the Indians. The unequal contest was kept up for more than an hour; the Indians firing from the Island and the shore under cover, when the commander's barge took fire. Captain Rector cut his cable, fell to windward, and took out the survivors. Captain Riggs soon after followed with his barge, and all returned to St. Louis.



There were three regulars, four rangers, one woman and one child, killed and mortally wounded; and sixteen wounded; among whom was Major Campbell and Dr. Stewart, severely. (Gazette, July 30th, 1814.)

#### SECTION FOUR.

##### *The Boone's Lick Settlements.*

The country above the Cedar, a small stream on the western border of Callaway county, which was regarded as the boundary of the district (afterwards the county) of St. Charles, was called "*Boone's Lick*," from its first settlement until the organization of the State Government.

*Cote Sans Dessein*, (from a singular oblong hill in the bottom near) was a hamlet, or small village of French settlers, as early as 1808. In 1810, (perhaps a few in 1809) many enterprising persons with their families, struck into the wilderness and commenced settlements, in what is now the county of Howard. Here were several large salt springs and "licks," at one of which the old pioneer had his hunting camp in the olden time, and where his son, Major Nathan Boone, made salt about 1807. This gave name to the "lick," and that to a large district of country. As the formation of this settlement and the "Incidents of the war," which is the subject of this chapter, are in direct connection, we shall group them together in this section.

About twelve families, in 1810, settled on the south side of the Missouri. They were from the Loutre settlement. Mrs. Cole and family, whose husband was killed by the Indians, settled at the lower point of the bluff, adjacent to Booneville, in 1811. [Appendix, p. 728.]

The Boone's Lick settlement, at the commencement of the war with Great Britain, numbered about one hundred and fifty families. The Governor of the territory considered them beyond the organized jurisdiction of any county, and for about four years the only authority over them was patriarchal.—The state of society was orderly, and the habits of the people virtuous. Several ministers of the gospel were among the immigrants. The force of public sentiment and the good sense of the people regulated society.

For several years, a party of the Sauk Indians, under Quash-



quamme, their chief, lived on the Moniteau, south of the Missouri. They professed to be friendly, but, as is customary with all uncivilized Indians, very probably they stole horses, and committed other depredations. And it is a general custom for hostile parties in their marauding excursions, to lay the mischief they commit to those who keep the peace. After the war this band of Sauks were ordered off. They went to Grand river, and from thence to the mouth of Rock river, and joined the other branch of the Sauk nation.

On the Petite Osage plains, in what is now Saline county, were a large party of Miami Indians. Their village, built of poles, was a short distance from the Missouri river. They are accused of committing many depredations, and some murders, which, probably, was the work of hostile Indians.

The Pottawatomies were the principal depredators in the Boone's Lick country, during the war. They stole nearly or quite three hundred horses from the settlements. The Foxes, Iowas and Kickapoos, carried the war into this frontier. For two years, the gallant settlers, unaided by any government, sustained the conflict and defended their families with dauntless heroism. Every man, and every boy that could load a rifle, was a soldier, and enrolled himself in one of the volunteer companies. By common consent, Colonel Benjamin Cooper was Commander-in-Chief. Colonel Cooper had been identified with the early operations in Kentucky, and possessed those elements of character, that eminently qualified him for a leader and adviser.

Amongst the subalterns, we recollect the names of Sarshall Cooper, (son of the Colonel,) Wm. Head, and Stephen Cole; regretting the names of others, equally deserving notice, are unknown to the writer.

(We find the name Braxton given to this gentleman in several documents, and infer that his name was Sarshall Braxton Cooper.)

The people erected five stockade forts for their defence.—Mr. McLain's fort, afterwards called Fort Hempstead, about one mile from the present site of New Franklin; Cooper's Fort, in the bottom prairie, near the old Boone's Lick: Kincaid's fort, a mile above the site of old Franklin, near the river; Head's fort, on the Moniteau, near the old Boone's Lick trace from St. Charles; and Cole's fort south of the Missouri,



a mile below Booneville. As dangers thickened, the people in this fort moved temporarily across the Missouri. The families, when danger was apprehended, resided in these stockades, but the citizen soldiers, besides ranging in advance of the forts after the enemy, had to hunt game for provisions, and cultivate the land for corn. As much of their stock was killed or driven off by the early incursions of the enemy, the terms "bear-bacon," and "hog-meat," were inserted in contracts for provisions in those days.\*

Large enclosures near the forts were occupied for corn-fields, in common; and frequently sentinels stood on the borders of the field, while their neighbors turned the furrow.—Skirmishes with parties of Indians were frequent.

If they threatened the fort while the detachments were in the corn-field, or on the hunting range, the sound of the horn was the rallying signal.

Among the persons killed at different periods, and various points, we can record the names of Sarshall Cooper, Jonathan Todd, William Campbell, Thomas Smith, Samuel McMahan, William Gregg, John Smith, James Busby, Joseph W. Still, and a negro man.

Our authority for this and several other particulars, is Samuel Cole, son of W. T. Cole;—memoranda taken from the statements of many of the pioneers in the Boone's Lick country by the writer, in 1818;—Wetmore's Gazetteer;—and the files of the Missouri Gazette.

Of the murders committed, none excited so deep a feeling, as the tragic end of Captain Sarshall Cooper, who was killed at his own fire-side in Cooper's fort. It was on a dark and stormy night, when the winds howled through the adjacent forest, that a single warrior crept to the wall of Captain Cooper's cabin, which formed one side of the fort, and made an opening between the logs, barely sufficient to admit the muzzle of his gun, which he discharged with fatal effect. Captain Cooper was sitting by the fire, holding his youngest child in his arms, which escaped unhurt; his other children lounging on the cabin floor, and his wife engaged in domestic duties. A single crack of the rifle was heard, and Cooper was stretched on the floor! His prowess was well known to the Indians; his skill and bravery had often foiled the wily and treacher-

\* Wetmore's Gazetteer, p. 82.





ous savages. He is remembered to this day by the early pioneers of Missouri for his heroic and manly virtues, as he is for his philanthropy and other moral qualities.

Captain Stephen Cole survived the war, after making every effort for the defence of the settlement, when, just about the period of prosperity, and the increase and value of lands and other property invited repose and contentment, his love of wild adventure, in 1822, induced him to become a pioneer in the trade to Santa Fe. He was killed by the red skins on the plains.

Colonel Cooper attained to a green old age. He was a member of the Territorial Council, much respected by all classes, and died about 1840.

After about two years of hard fighting, "on their own hook," to use a western figure, application was made to the Governor, and a detachment of rangers under General Henry Dodge was sent to their relief. The mounted men, (rangers) included the companies of Captain John Thompson, of St. Louis, Captain Daugherty of Cape Girardeau, and Captain Cooper of the Boone's Lick settlement, with fifty Shawanese and Delaware Indians; the whole amounting to three hundred men,

They marched to the village of the Miamies, took about four hundred men, women and children prisoners, and sent them to their nation on the Wabash.

In connection, an expedition ascended the Missouri river, under command of Captain Edward Hempstead.

In the spring of 1813, a party of Sauks and Pottawatomies made an attack on Loutre Lick, and killed a young man by the name of Massey, while ploughing in the field.

Early in 1814, the Sauks and Foxes stole horses in the neighborhood of Loutre Island. Fifteen or twenty rangers commanded by Captain James Callaway, being out on a tour of observation, accidentally fell on their trail, and followed it. They overtook the Indians in camp near the head of the Loutre creek, and found the horses, but the Indians apparently, had fled. They retook the horses, and proceeded towards the settlements, until they reached Prairie fork. Here the Captain, desirous of relieving the men who had charge of the horses in the rear, gave the command to Lieut. Riggs, who went on with the main party. In a short time, Captain Callaway and the men who had charge of the horses, were



fired on by a large party of Indians who lay in ambuscade, and was severely wounded. He broke the line of the Indians, while men and horses fled, rode towards the main Loutre, where he was intercepted by the Indians, and being mortally wounded, fell from his horse into the stream as he attempted to swim it, and expired. Four rangers in his party were killed. Their names were, McDermot, Hutchinson, McMillan, and Gilmore. The latter was taken prisoner and subsequently killed.

At the village of Cote Sans Dessein, the French and others erected a block-house and pallisade enclosure, to protect the families. The principal person in command, was a resolute Frenchman by the name of Baptiste Louis Roy. The fort was assailed by a large party of Indians when only two men besides Captain Roy, with many women and children, were in it. The women cast bullets, cut patches, loaded rifles, and furnished refreshments, while Roy and his two soldiers defended the post, until fourteen braves were numbered as slain. The Indians attempted to set the house on fire by shooting arrows armed with combustible materials, but the resolute women put out the fire. The defence proved succesful, and M. Roy, at a period subsequent to the war, received a costly rifle from the young men at St. Louis for his gallant behavior.\*

\*Wetmore's Gazetteer, pp. 47, 50. Also 125, 126.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

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#### SECTION FIRST.

##### *Sketches of Missouri Territory.*

We shall commence these sketches by gleaning such incidents as have been omitted. One of these is the location and settlement of New Madrid. This town was projected as a large commercial city, in 1787, by Col. G. Morgan, from New Jersey. A little French village was commenced at an earlier



period, and called *L'anse a la Gresse*. Stoddard says: "In consequence of some obstacles to his designs, created by the Spanish Government, he abandoned his project, and retired from the country.\*

In 1779, it is said to have contained 800 inhabitants, and to have been in a flourishing condition. We think this estimate included the village and settlement of Little Prairie, some thirty miles below, which at that period, contained about 400 inhabitants.

The act of Congress, passed October 31st, 1803, authorized the President to take possession of the Territories ceded by France to the United States, and establish a temporary government therein. [Annals, 537.]

An act passed March 26, 1804, organizing the Territory of Orleans, and making "the residue of the country, the district of Louisiana," and placing it under the jurisdiction of the Governor and Judges of Indiana. It so continued until March 3d, 1805, when an act was passed, organizing the "Territory of Louisiana," under the jurisdiction of a Governor, Judges and Secretary. General James Wilkinson was appointed Governor, and Frederick Bates, Esq., Secretary, who frequently officiated as acting Governor. He continued in the office by reappointments until the territorial government was suspended by that of the State.

The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clark, is noticed already. [Annals, 552.] It was not long after their return that Captain Meriwether Lewis received the appointment of Governor of the Territory of Louisiana; and Captain Wm. Clark (a little later, we think,) the appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The territorial records having been consumed with the State House at Jefferson City, in 1837, we cannot be certain of accuracy in dates.

On the 20th of August, 1808, we find in the "Gazette," the proclamation of Governor Lewis, organizing the "District of Arkansas." At that period, counties were denominated districts.

It was no minor event in the annals of Missouri, that the printing press and weekly paper west of the Mississippi river, was introduced and established in St. Louis, in 1808, by the late Joseph Charless. Its earliest issues were on cap pa-

\* Stoddard's Sketches, p. 209.



per; the first number is dated in July, 1808. Mr. Charless was a native of Ireland. For a time, he was in an office in Philadelphia, then in Lexington, Ky., where he published a paper. The name of the paper at St. Louis, was changed with that of the territory. It was first called the "Louisiana Gazette," then the "Missouri Gazette," and finally, in 1822, in other hands, it took the name of the "Missouri Republican." The files of this paper, in size and typographical appearance, would furnish an illustration of the growth and progress of the city and the territory.

During the spring or summer of 1809, Governor Lewis departed for New Orleans, and thence to Washington City.—While passing through the Chickasaw country, he discovered great aberration of mind, and shot himself with a brace of pistols in the night, at the house where he tarried. We give the following sketch from Howe's Virginia, Albermarle county, page 171.

"Meriwether Lewis, the son of a wealthy planter, was born near Charlottesville, in 1774. At 18 years of age, he relinquished his academic studies and engaged in agriculture. Two years after, he acted as a volunteer, to suppress the whisky insurrection, from which situation he was removed to the regular service. From about 1801 to 1803, he was the private secretary of Mr. Jefferson, when he, with Wm. Clark, went on their celebrated exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Jefferson, in recommending him to this duty, gave him a high character, as possessing courage, inflexible perseverance, intimate knowledge of the Indian character, and fidelity, intelligence, and all those peculiar combinations of qualities that eminently fitted him for so arduous an undertaking. They were absent three years, and were highly successful in the accomplishment of their duties. Shortly after his return, he was appointed Governor of the territory of Louisiana, and, finding it the seat of internal dissensions, he, by his moderation, firmness and impartiality, brought matters into a systematic train. He was subject to constitutional hypochondria, and while under the influence of a severe attack, shot himself on the borders of Tennessee, in 1809, at the age of thirty-five. The event was ascribed to the protest of some bills, which he drew on the public account."

The Commissioners to examine into and confirm claims to land by virtue of concessions and grants under the Spanish Government, were John B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, and





James L. Donaldson. From the American State Papers, Public Lands, volume ii., we learn they commenced the duties of the office in 1806. In 1807, we find the name of Frederick Bates in place of J. L. Donaldson. Lucas, Penrose and Bates, continued to officiate until 1812, and probably a longer period. The doubtful and conflicting titles, made the office both laborious and unpleasant.

An act of Congress, approved June 4th, 1812, changed the name of the Territory of Louisiana to that of Missouri, and advanced it to the second grade of government.

The "Council" consisted of nine members, elected in the same mode as was then customary in territorial organizations. The Representatives, when elected by the people, were required to convene on the proclamation of the Governor, and nominate eighteen persons, residents of said territory one year preceding their nomination; each possessing, in his own right, two hundred acres of land therein; and return their names to the President of the United States, who, with the advice and consent of the Senate, selected nine for the Legislative Council. The term of appointment was five years.

The House of Representatives were apportioned at the ratio of one, for every five hundred free, white male inhabitants. Qualifications for this office, were one year's residence in the territory, twenty-one years of age, and a free-holder in the county. The term was two years, and the Legislature to sit annually, in the town of St. Louis. Thirteen Representatives were provided at the first election.

Qualifications for suffrage were free, white male citizens of the United States, one year's residence in the territory, and the payment of a territorial, or county tax. A Delegate to Congress, to be chosen biennially.

In 1816, the organic law was so modified, as to permit biennial sessions of the Legislature.

On the 1st day of October, Governor Howard, by proclamation, reorganized the districts, as heretofore called, into five counties; St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. The district of Arkansas formed a portion of the county of New Madrid. The territorial government passed into the second grade the first Monday in December. The election for representatives to the legislature



and a delegate to congress, was ordered to be held on the second Monday in November.

On the 18th of October, the names of Edward Hempstead, Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, and Matthew Lyon, were announced as candidates for the office of Delegate to congress. Edward Hempstead was the successful candidate, but we find no records of the polls to show how the other candidates stood.

The House of Representatives commenced their first session on the 7th December, 1812. The following persons, as representatives of their respective counties, were present:

*St. Charles.*—John Pitman, Robert Spencer.

*St. Louis.*—David Musick, Bernard G. Farrar, William C. Carr, and Richard Caulk.

*Ste. Genevieve.*—George Bullett, Richard S. Thomas, Isaac McGready.

*Cape Girardeau.*—George F. Bollinger, Stephen Byrd.

*New Madrid.*—John Shrader, Samuel Phillips.

The oath was administered by John B. C. Lucas, one of the Judges. William C. Carr was elected Speaker, and Thomas F. Riddick, Clerk, pro. tem. Andrew Scott was elected Clerk before the close of the session.

The House of Representatives then proceeded to nominate eighteen persons, from which the President of the United States, with the Senate, was to select nine for the Council.

James Flaugherty, and Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles county;—Auguste Chouteau, sen., and Samuel Hammond, of St. Louis county;—John Scott, James Maxwell, Nathaniel Cook, John M'Arthur, Moses Austin, John Smith, T., of Ste. Genevieve county;—William Neely, George Cavener, Abraham Boyd, John Davis, of Cape Girardeau county;—Joseph Hunter, Elisha Winson, William Gray, William Winchester, of New Madrid county, were nominated.

The President nominated, and the Senate confirmed, as members of the Territorial Council, James Flaugherty, Benjamin Emmons, Auguste Chouteau, sen., Samuel Hammond, John Scott, James Maxwell, William Neely, George Cavener, and Joseph Hunter. The acting Governor, Mr. Bates, made proclamation to that effect, on the 3d day of June, 1813, and appointed the first Monday in July following, for the meeting of the General Assembly.



The Journal of the House of Representatives was published only in the Missouri Gazette. Before the called session appointed to be held in July, William Clark entered upon the office of Governor.

We find no journal of legislative proceedings in the Gazette for that session, except a friendly interchange between the Assembly and the new Governor.

The Assembly passed laws regulating and establishing weights and measures;—the office of Sheriff;—mode of taking the census;—fixing permanently seats of justice in the counties;—compensation to members of the Assembly;—crimes and punishments;—forcible entry and detainer;—establishing courts of common pleas;—Incorporating the Bank of St. Louis;—and erecting the county of Washington from a part of Ste. Genevieve county.\*

The second session of the General Assembly began in St. Louis, on the 6th of December, 1813. The Speaker elect of the House, was George Bullett, of Ste. Genevieve county; the Clerk, Andrew Scott; Door-keeper, William Sullivan. Vacations having occurred, several new members had been elected. Israel McGready appeared from the new county of Washington. Samuel Hammond was President of the Legislative Council.

The Journal of the House, but not of the Council, is to be found in the Gazette. After passing various laws, the Assembly adjourned, *sine die*, on the 19th of January, 1814. The boundaries of the counties of St. Charles, Washington, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, were defined, and the county of Arkansas created.†

The enumeration of the free, white male inhabitants, taken under the Act of the Legislature, early in 1814, is as follows:

Arkansas, 827; New Madrid, 1548; Cape Girardeau, 2062; Ste. Genevieve, 1701; Washington, 1010; St. Louis, 3149; St. Charles, 1,096; making an aggregate of free, white male persons 11,393. Allowing an equal number of white females, and 1,000 slaves and free blacks, and the population of the territory was 25,000. The census of 1810, by the United States, gives 20,845 of all classes.

Edward Hempstead, Esq., who had discharged his duty

\* Territorial Laws, vol. i. pp. 225, 290.

† Territorial Laws, vol. i. pp. 191-338.



faithfully as a Delegate to Congress, declined a re-election.—The candidates were Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, Alexander McNair and Thomas F. Riddick. The aggregate votes from all the counties (excepting Arkansas) was 2,599, of which Mr. Easton had 965; Mr. Hammond, 746; Mr. McNair, 853; and Mr. Riddick (who had withdrawn his name previous to the election) 35.

The apportionment under the census, increased the number of Representatives in the Territorial Legislature, to twenty-two.

The first session of the second General Assembly, commenced in St. Louis, on the 5th of December, 1814. Twenty Representatives were present the first day. James Caldwell, of Ste. Genevieve county, was elected Speaker, and Andrew Scott, clerk. The Council chose William Neely, of Cape Girardeau county, President. The county of Lawrence was organized from the western part of New Madrid, and the corporate powers of St. Louis, as a borough, enlarged.

It appears from the journal of the House, in the *Gazette*, that James Maxwell, a member of the Council from the county of Ste. Genevieve, and Seth Emmons, member elect of the House of Representatives from the county of St. Louis, had died, and measures were adopted to fill the vacancies.

The laws passed this session, may be found in the Territorial Laws, volume first, pages 339 to 421.

Another weekly paper, called the "Western Journal," was started in St. Louis, in the spring of 1815.

The Territorial Legislature commenced its annual session in November, 1815. Only a partial report can be found in the *Gazette*. The customary business was transacted. The county of Howard was organized from the western portion of St. Louis and St. Charles counties.

The acts passed may be found in the first volume of the Territorial Laws, pages 422 to 489. The session continued until January 26th, 1816.

The war with Great Britain having closed, and the treaties held with the various nations of Indians at Portage des Sioux, in 1815, gave peace to the frontier settlements of Missouri and Illinois—[Annals, pp. 648 to 651.] Immigrants now began to flock to these territories. Old settlements increased in numbers, and new settlements were formed.





The Territorial Legislature of Missouri, commenced again in December, 1816, and continued till February 1st, 1817.—Amongst the acts passed, was one “killing of wolves, panthers and wild-cats;” two or three lotteries were chartered;—a charter granted for an academy at Potosi; and a Board of Trustees incorporated for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis. This was the starting point in the school system in this city.

The old “Bank of Missouri” was chartered and soon went into operation, and by autumn, 1817, the two banks, “St. Louis” and “Missouri,” were issuing bills. The one called St. Louis, went into operation in 1814. [See Territorial Laws, vol. i. pp. 489—553.]

The Territorial Legislature held a session in December, 1818. During this session the counties of Jefferson, Franklin, Wayne, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Pike, Cooper, and three counties in the southern part of Arkansas, were organized. The next year (1819) the territory of Arkansas was formed into a separate Territorial Government.

The Territorial Legislature of Missouri, made application to Congress for authority to organize a State Government.

The organization of so many new counties, and the application to organize a State Government, indicate the rapid increase of population by immigrants, from 1816 to 1818. During the latter year, St. Louis commenced its onward progress in buildings, enterprize and commerce. At the commencement of that year, the writer counted seven houses and stores of brick, that were finished and occupied, a few more unfinished and occupied, and some eight or ten with the foundations laid, or walls up. During 1818, more than three millions of brick were manufactured, and about one hundred buildings erected. Of these, two were church edifices, but never finished. The first brick dwelling-house erected in St. Louis, in 1813-'14, was by Wm. C. Carr.

The first steamboat that ascended the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Ohio, was the *General Pike*, that reached St. Louis the 2nd of August, 1817. It was commanded by Capt. Jacob Reed, who subsequently became a citizen of the place, and died here. The second steamboat was the *Constitution*, Capt. R. P. Guyard, which arrived on the 2nd of October, in the same year. During 1818, there were several arrivals.



The population of St. Louis in 1815, as taken by the Sheriff, John W. Thompson, was 2,000. Throughout the county, including the town, 7,395.

In 1816, the late Colonel Daniel M. Boone, son of the old pioneer, and Mr. Lamme, penetrated the Gasconade pine forests, and erected the first saw-mill on Little Piney. Subsequently, A. Pattie purchased Boone's interest and became a partner of Lamme. John McDonald, of St. Louis county, with his family connections, erected another mill on the same stream in 1817, and removed his family there the same season.

## SECTION SECOND.

### *Territorial Government of Illinois.*

On the 14th of February, 1812, Governor Edwards issued his proclamation, ordering an election to be held in each county, on the second Monday in April, for three successive days, that the people might decide whether they would enter on the second grade of government. The territorial charter gave ample power to the Governor, to advance the territory to the second degree, but it was his rule through life, to ascertain and be guided by the popular will, and govern accordingly. The vote at the election decided the question in the affirmative by a very large majority.

It came to the knowledge of the Governor, that some persons at Peoria, (a mere hamlet, with a few French cabins, after the war,) were selling liquor to the Indians. On the 25th of May, 1812, he issued the following proclamation:—

“WHEREAS, it is deemed improper to furnish the Indians with spirituous liquors at Peoria;—

“I do hereby forbid all persons whatsoever, to sell, exchange, or in any manner give, or deliver to any Indians or Indian, any spirituous liquors, or any ardent spirits, within twenty miles of Peoria; and I do hereby enjoin it upon Thos. Forsythe, and any other Justice of the Peace for St. Clair county, to enforce this proclamation.”

On the 16th of September, the Governor, by proclamation, organized the counties of Madison, Gallatin, Pope, and Johnson; and the same day issued another proclamation, authorizing an election to be held in each county, on the 8th, 9th



and 10th days of October, to elect members of the Council and House of Representatives.

Another proclamation dated November 10th, authorized the members elect to convene at Kaskaskia, on the 25th of the same month.

The members of the Council were Pierre Menard, of Randolph county, who was elected to preside;—William Biggs, of St. Clair county;—Samuel Judy, of Madison county;—Thomas Ferguson, of Johnson county;—and Benjamin Talbot, of Gallatin county. John Thomas, Esq., was chosen Secretary.

The House of Representatives consisted of William Jones, from Madison county;—Joshua Oglesby and Jacob Short, from St. Clair; George Fisher, from Randolph;—Phillip Trammel and Alexander Wilson, from Gallatin;—and John Grammar, from Johnson county. Their Clerk was Wm. C. Greenup.—Both bodies occupied separate rooms in a house in that ancient town—had a door-keeper in common, and all boarded in one family. They did their work like men devoted to business matters. Not a lawyer or an attorney is found in the roll of names. They deliberated like sensible men, passed such laws as they deemed the country needed, made no speeches, had no contention, and after a brief session of some ten or twelve days, adjourned.

The following brief sketch, so far as we have had information, of the members of the first Legislative Assembly of Illinois, may be interesting to some of our readers.

*Doct. George Fisher*, came to Kaskaskia as a merchant in 1800, from Hardy county, Va. At the period of his election, he resided on his farm five miles north of Kaskaskia, at the point of the bluffs. His education was medium, but he possessed considerable original talent, and great firmness. He was a member of the Convention to organize a State Government in 1818, and died in 1820.

*Phillip Trammel*, was a lessee of the U. S. Saline, in Gallatin county; possessed a good discriminating mind, had a strong inclination to military affairs, and died in a few years after.

*Alexander Wilson*, kept a public house in Shawnectown, was a man of moderate abilities, and died soon after the war.

*John Grammar*, was a plain frontier man from Tennessee, with very little education in youth; but a man of good com-



mon sense, and subsequently represented Union county repeatedly in each House of the State Legislature.

*Joshua Oglesby* was a respectable farmer, and a local Methodist preacher in St. Clair county, a man of decent education, and respected by his neighbors. He died in 1828.

*Jacob Short* was a citizen and farmer of St. Clair county, and distinguished himself as a ranger during the war. He came with his father, Moses Short, to Illinois in 1796.

*Wm. Jones*, was born in North Carolina, removed in early life to East Tennessee, and from thence to came to Illinois in 1806, and settled in Rattan's prairie, a few miles east of Alton. He was a Baptist preacher, of moderate abilities, grave in his deportment, and respected by his acquaintance. He represented the county of Madison, in the State Legislature in 1828, and died in January, 1845.

*Pierre Menard*, was a French gentleman and a native of Canada. He came to Kaskaskia about the close of the last century, and was engaged in the Indian trade with success. He was a man of intelligence, popular among all classes, upright and strictly honorable. He was elected the first Lieutenant Governor of the State, and presided with dignity and propriety over the Senate. He died a few years since, respected and lamented.

*William Biggs*, whose name appears in the Appendix, (p. 701,) was an intelligent and respectable man, and for some years a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in St. Clair county. He died about 1828 or 1829.

*Samuel Judy* was the commander of a company of spies in the war, a man of much energy, fortitude and enterprise, and died in Madison county a few years since.

Of Thomas Ferguson and Benjamin Talbot, we have no certain information.

The members of the House of Representatives in the Territorial Legislature in 1814. were, Wm. Rabb, of Madison county;—Risdon Moore, Sen., and James Lemen, Jr., of St. Clair county;—James Gilbreath, of Randolph county;—Philip Trammel and Thomas C. Brown, of Gallatin county;—and Owen Evans, of Johnson county. Risdon Moore was elected Speaker, and Wm. Mears, Clerk, and Moses Stewart, joint Door-keeper between the two bodies. The Council were the same persons as in the preceding session.





The committee on Revenue made a report, that from January 1st, 1811, to November 8th, 1814, the revenue from taxes received, was \$4,875 45; of which there had been paid into the Treasury \$2,516 89, and remained in the hands of delinquent Sheriffs \$2,378 47.

This Legislature took action on the subject of Common Schools.

"On motion of Mr. Trammel, a committee was appointed to draft a bill to incorporate the inhabitants of the respective townships, to enable them to choose trustees to lease and appropriate the profits of the sixteenth section in each township, for the benefit of Public Schools, in conformity to the act of Congress."

Messrs. Evans and Trammel were that committee. (See Legislative Journal, November 28, 1814.)

A bill was reported on the 30th, and passed by the House December 2nd. Edwards county was organized this session. Benjamin Stephenson was the first Delegate elected to Congress in 1812.

At the session of the General Assembly, of 1815-'16, Pierre Menard again presided in the Council, and Risdon Moore in the House of Representatives. The counties of White, Monroe, Jackson and Johnson, were organized this session. Immigration came into the territory rapidly at this period. A settlement was formed in 1815, by a few families south of the Macoupin [Ma-qu-a-pin, it should have been written] in the south part of the present county of Greene, and the next year, Thomas Rattan, and one or two more families, made their pitch on the border of a fertile prairie, above Apple Creek.—Through Morgan, Sangamon, and all the counties west of the Illinois river, the Indians, (now peaceable,) roamed and hunted.

The counties south, towards the Ohio and Wabash rivers, received a large accession to their population, and many persons advanced into the wilderness, and built their cabins and made their locations along the Saline, Muddy, Beaucoup, and Little Wabash rivers. The settlements were generally made on the borders of the prairies; too many inconveniences then existed in settling out in the prairies.

The session of the Territorial Legislature of 1816-'17, caught the banking mania, and chartered the "Illinois Bank,"



at Shawneetown, and the "Edwardsville Bank." Both these banks became deposit banks for government funds, received the money from the Land Offices, and used it for their own purposes. The Illinois Bank eventually accounted for the whole, after considerable delay; but against the Bank of Edwardsville, the United States obtained a judgment for fifty-four thousand dollars, which has never been collected.\*

At the session of the Legislature, of 1817-'18, the "Bank of Cairo" was incorporated; connected with the project of building a city at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Some of the persons afterward having died, the project was suspended. In the period of the "Internal Improvement" mania, in 1836, this bank was galvanized into existence, flourished for a short time, and expired.

In 1815, Nathaniel Pope, Secretary of the Territory, was elected to Congress, and remained in that office till the State Government was formed. In that capacity he rendered the State very important service. He obtained the extension of the line of the new State north, from the southern bend of Lake Michigan, to latitude 42 degrees 30 minutes, which now constitutes the limit of that State, and he was mainly instrumental in obtaining the act to form the State Government, when scarcely forty thousand souls existed in the State.

\* Brown's Illinois, p. 420.

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## CHAPTER V.

### STATE GOVERNMENTS.

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#### SECTION FIRST.

##### *Organization of the State of Illinois.*

Representatives to the Convention to form a State Constitution were chosen. We record their names and the counties they represented. The counties of Crawford, Bond, Union,



Washington and Franklin, had been organized the preceding Legislature.

*St. Clair.*—Jesse B. Thomas, John Messinger, James Lem-en, Jr.

*Randolph.*—George Fisher, Elias Kent Kane.

*Madison.*—Benjamin Stephenson, Joseph Borough, Abraham Pickett.

*Gallatin.*—Michael Jones, Leonard White, Adolphus Frederick Hubbard.

*Johnson.*—Hezekiah West and Wm. McFatrige.

*Edwards.*—Seth Gard, Levi Compton.

*White.*—Willis Hargrave, Wm. McHenry.

*Monroe.*—Caldwell Carnes, Enoch Moore.

*Pope.*—Samuel Omelvany, Hamlet Furguson.

*Jackson.*—Conrad Will, James Hall, Jr.

*Crawford.*—Joseph Kitchell, Edward N. Cullom.

*Bond.*—Thomas Kirkpatrick, Samuel G. Morse.

*Union.*—Wm. Echols, John Whitaker.

*Washington.*—Andrew Bankson.

*Franklin.*—Joshua Harrison, Thomas Roberts.

Jesse B. Thomas, was chosen President, and Wm. C. Green-up, Secretary of the Convention.

This body assembled at Kaskaskia in July, and closed their labors by signing the Constitution they had framed on the twenty-sixth day of August.

The election for the first Legislature, was appointed to be held on the third Thursday, and the two following days in September, and all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, who were actual residents of the State at the time of signing the Constitution, had the right of suffrage. The first session of the General Assembly was to commence at Kaskaskia, on the first Monday in October following, but all subsequent sessions on the first Monday in December, thereafter. The Constitution was not referred to the people for adoption. In general, they were satisfied with the labors of their servants.

Members to the General Assembly were elected, met at the time appointed, and set in operation the new machinery of government. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia, had been duly elected Governor, and Pierre Menard, of the same place, Lieutenant Governor. Their terms of service were from 1818 to



1822. Governor Bond in his brief Inaugural address, called the early attention of the General Assembly to a survey, preparatory to opening a canal between the Illinois river and Lake Michigan.

Ninian Edwards, whose administration over the territory had gained a strong position in the confidence of the people, was elected Senator of the United States' Congress. Jesse B. Thomas, who had presided in the Convention with dignity and impartiality, was elected to the same office. The treasury of the State was impoverished at the commencement, as the expenses of the Convention, and then of the Legislature, had to be incurred before a revenue system could be adopted and carried into effect. After a short session the Legislature adjourned.

The second session commenced about the first of February, 1819, and continued until the 20th. During this period they revised and re-enacted the Territorial Laws, so far as applicable to the State, with such additional laws as the public exigencies seemed to require.

## SECTION SECOND.

### *Organization of the State of Missouri.*

It has been stated already that the Territorial Legislature of 1818-'19, made application to Congress for a law to be passed, authorizing the people of Missouri to organize a State Government. John Scott, Esq., was the Delegate in Congress at that period; having been elected by a majority of votes over Rufus Easton, in 1817.

A bill was prepared in Congress during the session of 1818-'19, in the accustomed form, authorizing the people to elect Delegates in the several counties, to constitute a Convention for the purpose of forming a Constitution. While under progress, an amendment in the form of a *proviso*, was introduced by Mr. Talmadge, of New York, in the following words:

“*And, provided*, That the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-years.”





This proviso, after a brief discussion, passed the House of Representatives, on the 15th of February, 1819, by a vote of 79 to 67. This unexpected movement brought up what has since been called the "Missouri Question;" caused a protracted discussion, and raised one of those political storms, which threatened to endanger, if not dissolve the national Union.— It not only agitated Congress, but the Union from one extreme to the other, for eighteen months. Amongst the people in this territory, the excitement was intense; the absorbing idea that prevailed was, that the Congress of the United States, a body limited in constitutional power, was about to deprive the people of Missouri of their just rights, in forming a Constitution in accordance with the treaty of cession, and as they might judge the best calculated to promote their interests. The writer at that period was a citizen of the territory, and in his professional calling, had occasion to travel into every county. Taking no direct part in an exciting political question, and mixing with all classes of people, hearing their conversations in private and their discussions in public, he claims to know the views by which they were actuated. At that period not one-fourth of the population owned or held slaves; many were opposed to slavery as a measure of State policy, but, (with a very few exceptions,) all were determined to resist what they regarded an arbitrary stretch of congressional power.

Louisiana, from its earliest colonization, had sustained and tolerated negro slavery on both sides of the Mississippi. Under the government of both France and Spain, African negroes had been recognized as property by the laws. The treaty of cession secured to the inhabitants of this province the protection and full enjoyment of their property. Hence the people of Missouri, and their friends in Congress, maintained that Congress possessed no just right to disturb the existing relation of master and slave. With the people of Missouri, it became an absorbing question of political rights.

The discussions in Congress continued during the session, and the bill was lost, with other unfinished business.

During the following summer the discussions continued in Missouri, chiefly on one side, though the "Gazette" opened its columns to all parties.

On the opening of Congress, Mr. Scott, Delegate from Missouri, and chairman of the committee on the "Memorial from



Missouri," reported a bill "to authorize the people of that territory to form a Constitution and State Government, on an equal footing with the original States." The bill was twice read and referred to the committee of the whole House. This was on the 9th of December, 1819. On the 14th, Mr. Taylor of New York, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee "to enquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law, the introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States, west of the Mississippi." After some discussion, in which the Delegate from Missouri took part, the Missouri bill was postponed and made the order of the day for the second Monday in January. The discussion opened at that period, and continued during the winter. Various amendments were proposed, in both Houses, and lost.

Application had been made by the people of Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, to form a State Government and be admitted into the Union. This proposition, for a period, became coupled with the Missouri Question.

In the Senate, on the 3d of February, Mr. Thomas from Illinois, offered an amendment to the Missouri branch of the bill, in the following words:—

*"And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, [excepting only such part thereof as is] not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby forever prohibited: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."*

This amendment was adopted in the Senate on the 17th of February, by a vote of 34 to 10, and subsequently became the basis of the "Missouri Compromise," modified by striking out the words enclosed in brackets. On ordering the bill to a third reading in the Senate, the vote was in the affirmative, 24 to 20.

On the 3rd of March, the bill as amended from the Senate and passed, was sent to the House. Though the Journal be-



fore us is silent on that subject, it is understood as a historical fact, that at this crisis, when despair sat on the countenances of the friends of Missouri, Mr. Clay, who was Speaker of the House, exercised the office of peace-maker, and by his popularity and influence with both parties, not in an official capacity, but as an individual, healed the waters of strife, and induced a majority of the members to accept the compromise of the Senate. The clause restricting slavery within the State of Missouri, was stricken out by the majority of 90 to 87. On the final vote, for inserting the substitute from the Senate, it was decided under the previous question, in favor, 134;—against it, 42. So the House concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill, on the evening of the 3rd of March.

The "Compromise" may be found in the 8th section of the Act to authorize the people of Missouri to form a Constitution and State Government. [Territorial Laws, volume 1, pp. 628, 631.]

The Act provided for the representation of each county in the Convention; in the aggregate, forty-one members.

The boundaries prescribed, are here given :

"Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi river, on the parallel of thirty-six degrees of north latitude; thence west along that parallel of latitude, to the St. Francois river; thence up, and following the course of that river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the parallel of latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; thence west along the same, to a point where said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river; thence, from the point aforesaid, north, along the said meridian line to the intersection to the parallel of latitude which passes through the *rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line*; thence east, from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the said river Des Moines, to the mouth of the same, where it empties into the Mississippi river; thence, due east, to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence down and following the course of the Mississippi river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning."

We have given the boundary in full, to explain the ground of a dispute, which at one period threatened serious collision



between the territory, and subsequently the State of Iowa and the State of Missouri, relative to boundaries and jurisdiction. The words in italics gave rise to the difference, and involved the questions: First, what was meant by the "rapids of the river Des Moines;" Secondly, what Indian boundary line was intended?

Missouri contended for certain rapids, or ripples in the river Des Moines, some distance up, which threw the line some twenty or thirty miles farther north. Iowa contended the rapids in the Mississippi, called by the French explorers, *La rapides la riviere Des Moines*, was the point meant. After several years of contested jurisdiction, during which a sheriff of Missouri was imprisoned in Iowa, and military force was appealed to, both States consented to refer the question of boundary and jurisdiction to the Supreme Court of the United States. After a labored investigation, the court decided in favor of the old boundary line, as it was called, and the rapids of the Desmoines in the French sense of the term.

The election for members of the Convention was held on the first Monday, and two succeeding days of May, 1820.—The only discussion on slavery, was, whether the emancipation of slaves should be left open for legislative action at any future time, or restricted in the Constitution. We do not recollect that any candidate was elected who advocated leaving the question open. The objection urged against this policy was, that slaves were, in a legal sense, property; that property could not be taken from its owner by statute law, except for public purposes, and then only for compensation paid; that were the Legislature at any time to pass a law to emancipate slaves, the courts could nullify the act; and that when the people desired to change the policy of the State, they could reorganize the government by a new constitution.

We here give the members of the Convention, and the counties they represented:

*Cape Girardeau*.—Stephen Byrd, James Evans, Richard S. Thomas, Alexander Buckner, Joseph McFerron.

*Cooper*.—Robert P. Clark, Robert Wallace, William Lillard.

*Franklin*.—John G. Heath.

*Howard*.—Nicholas S. Burekhardt, Duff Green, John Ray, Jonathan S. Findlay, Benjamin H. Reeves.





*Jefferson.*—Samuel Hammond.

*Lincoln.*—Malcolm Henry.

*Montgomery.*—Jonathan Ramsey, James Talbott.

*Madison.*—Nathaniel Cook.

*New Madrid.*—Robert D. Dawson, Christopher G. Houts.

*Pike.*—Stephen Cleaver.

*St. Charles.*—Benjamin Emmons, Nathan Boone, Hiram H. Baber.

*Ste. Genevieve.*—John D. Cook, Henry Dodge, John Scott, R. T. Brown.

*St. Louis.*—David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, Wm. Rector, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Bernard Pratte, Thomas F. Riddick.

*Washington.*—John Rice Jones, Samuel Perry, John Hutchings.

*Wayne.*—Elijah Bettis.

The Convention met at St. Louis, on the 12th day of June. David Barton was elected President, and William G. Pettus, Secretary.

Their labors were finished by signing the constitution on 19th day of July, 1820. The first General Assembly were required to meet on the third Monday in September, at St. Louis. An election for a Governor, Lieutenant Governor; a representative in Congress for the residue of the sixteenth Congress; a representative for the seventeenth Congress; senators and representatives to the General Assembly, sheriffs and coroners, was held on the fourth Monday in August. The apportionment in the constitution for the first General Assembly, provided fourteen senators, and forty-three representatives.

Alexander McNair was elected Governor, and William H. Ashley, Lieutenant Governor, and John Scott representative to Congress. No provision was made to refer the adoption of the constitution to the people, and it took effect from the authority of the Convention.

There were several features in the constitution quite objectionable to the people. These were the office of Chancellor, with a salary of \$2,000 per annum; and the salaries of the Governor and the Judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts, being fixed at not less than \$2,000 per annum for each officer.

The mode provided for amending the constitution, was by



a vote of two-thirds of each House of the General Assembly proposing amendments; these to be published in all the newspapers in the State three times, at least twelve months before the next general election; and if, at the first session of the next General Assembly after such general election, two-thirds of each House, by yeas and nays, ratify such proposed amendments, after three separate readings, on three several days, the amendments become parts of the constitution.

At a special session of the General Assembly, in 1821, amendments were proposed to remove the objectionable features, and passed by the constitutional majority. The next General Assembly at its first session ratified them.

At the first session of the General Assembly in 1820, Thos. H. Benton and David Barton were elected Senators to represent the new State in the Congress of the United States. The Senators and Representative were at Washington City at the opening of the session, when, on presenting the constitution and claiming admittance as a State into the Union, they met a repulse. In article third, defining the legislative power of the General Assembly, was the following injunction:—

“It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary

“To prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in this State, under any pretext whatsoever.”

To this clause objections were made in Congress, the State was refused admittance into the Union, and another discussion followed. The objection was, that “free negroes and mulattoes” were citizens of some of the States, and the clause infringed on the rights of such as were guaranteed in the constitution of the U. States. The words of the constitution are: “The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.” The difficulty was increased by remonstrances from the legislatures of Vermont and New York, against the “Missouri Compromise” of the preceding session, and the reception of the new State without the restriction of slavery.

In the House of Representatives, the resolution previously introduced to admit that State, was rejected by the vote of 79 to 93.

The Select Committee, to whom the constitution was referred, made an elaborate report and recommended the recep-



tion of the State. This was also disagreed to, 83 to 36.\*— This was February 10th. On a subsequent occasion the question came up somewhat modified, and was lost in the House, 80 to 83. This vote was afterwards reconsidered, by a vote of 101 to 66.

During the session the whole subject was discussed; the rights of the south; the balance of power; the rights of the people of Missouri, and the mooted question, whether "free negroes" were, constitutionally citizens in all the States, were agitated questions at various periods of the session. A resolution with various restrictions, to admit Missouri, finally passed the House by a vote of 91 to 67, but in such a form as it would not be likely to receive the support of the Senate.

At this crisis, (February 22,) Mr. Clay, (who had declined being a candidate for the speakership,) proposed a Joint Committee of the House and Senate, which was carried by a vote of 101 to 55. Mr. Clay reported from the Joint Committee on the subject, (February 26,) the formula that became incorporated in the public Act, to be found in the Laws of Congress for that session, and in the "Territorial Laws of Missouri," volume i. pp. 758, 759.

The substance is as follows: On condition that the Legislature of Missouri, by a solemn act, shall declare the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of either of the States of the Union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges to which such citizen is entitled under the constitution of the United States; and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November, 1821, an authentic copy of said act;—upon the receipt thereof the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact, whereupon, without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of that State into the Union shall be considered as complete.

To carry this proviso out, it became necessary for the Governor to convene the Legislature in a special session, which was held in the town of St. Charles, in the month of June, and the SOLEMN PUBLIC ACT was passed; guarded by explanations, so as not to appear to affect constitutional rights. The

\* Niles' Register, xix. 409, 410.



mooted question whether "free negroes and mulattoes" are "citizens," in the sense of the constitution of the U. States, remains as it was before the action of Congress and the Legislature of Missouri.

In the month of August, the President having received an authentic copy of the "Solemn Public Act," made proclamation that the reception of Missouri was complete. During the preceding session of Congress, the Senators and Representatives of this State had no seat in Congress, and the votes for President were not counted.

We have been thus particular in this protracted sketch, that our readers may understand the whole subject. They may now learn there were two "Missouri Questions," and two "Compromises," on different and disconnected subjects. We hope the sketch given will prevent all readers of these Annals from confounding both the subjects and the dates, as many have heretofore done.

In 1820, the population of Missouri, by the United States census, was 66,586. The Legislature of that and of the following year, organized the counties of Lillard (now Lafayette,) Ralls, Boone, Chariton, Ray, Perry, Cole, Saline, Gasconade, Callaway, St. François, Scott and Clay. From the number of new counties created, the reader may infer the rapid increase of population, and the extension of settlements in Missouri.

### SECTION THIRD.

#### *Commercial and Military Enterprise.*

The first *Steamboat* that made a trip from New Orleans to Louisville, Ky., was the *Enterprise*, commanded by Captain Henry M. Shreve. The boat left New Orleans on the 6th of May, 1815, and arrived at Louisville on the 31st of the same month; making the passage *twenty-five days*. This was then regarded as quite an achievement in the navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio with steam. For many years Captain Shreve was in the employ of the national government, in removing snags from the Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, and Red Rivers. That singular obstruction, made by fallen and imbedded timber in Red River, termed the "Raft," has been removed by his skill and agency, and navigation opened into the vast and rich country above.





The *Independence*, Captain Nelson, from Louisville, Ky., was the pioneer boat in the navigation of the more difficult channel of the Missouri river. This was in the same month of May, 1819. She left St. Louis on the 13th, was at St. Charles on the 15th, and reached the town of Franklin, opposite Booneville, on the 26th of that month. The banks of the river were visited by crowds of people, as the boat came in sight of the town. It was the first boat that ever attempted to overcome the strong current of the Missouri, and find its way amidst the shifting sand-bars. Besides a large number of passengers, this boat carried up a cargo of flour, whisky, sugar, coffee, iron, castings, and other goods. The question, long agitated, and much doubted, "can the Missouri be navigated by steamboats?" was fully solved. A new era in Missouri annals had opened. Boats now ascend this river daily, and to the remotest settlements; and repeatedly have boats gone up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, about 1,800 miles above St. Louis. Even before 1844, the Assineboine went several hundred miles above the mouth of the Yellow Stone, into a gorge of the Rocky mountains.

The *Independence* returned to St. Louis, on the 5th of June, and took freight for Louisville, Ky.

On the 8th of June, 1819, the United States steamboat, *Western Engineer*, under command of Maj. S. H. Long, went on an exploring expedition up the Missouri, having on board several gentlemen attached to the department of Topographical Engineers. This corps were on a tour of observation to the Yellow Stone, or at least the Mandan villages. They left St. Louis on the 21st of June. The boat was a small one, with a stern wheel, and an escape pipe so contrived as to emit a torrent of smoke and steam through the head of a serpent, with a red, forked tongue, projecting from the bow.

It was understood that this contrivance was intended to make an impression on the Indians, as the boat had the appearance of being carried by a monstrous serpent, vomiting fire and smoke, and lashing the water into foam with his tail. Tradition says the aborigines were panic struck, and fled; imagining that the "pale-faces" had sent a "maniteau," into their country to destroy them.

A military expedition left Bellefontaine and St. Louis early in June, under the command of Colonel Atkinson, to establish



a military post at Council Bluffs, then far in advance of the American settlements. The expedition consisted of three steamboats, of heavy construction, the *Expedition*, the *Jefferson*, and the *Johnson*, and nine keel-boats. Several of these last description of boats were prepared to be propelled with sails and wheels. In this expedition were General Jessup, Quarter-master General of the United States Army; Colonel Henry Atkinson, Commander; Brevet Major Humphrys; Brevet Major Ketchum; Captains Hamilton, Boardman, Livingston, Reed, Haile, Shaler and Bliss. Colonel Chambers and Captain Smith, of the rifle regiment; and Lieutenants Bedell, Wilcox, Talcott, Durand, Givens, Wetmore, (who was Paymaster;) Brown, (Quarter-master;) McIlvain, Keeler and Palmer, were in the expedition. The steamboats were commanded by Captain Colfax, of the "Johnson," Captain Craig, of the "Expedition," and Captain Orfort, of the "Jefferson."—Colonel James Johnson, who, it was understood, had the contract from the War Department, to transport supplies and munitions for the new post, was on the expedition. Another boat called the "Calhoun," was connected with the enterprise.

Residing then at St. Charles, the writer was witness to the astonishment of the people, to see these boats stem the rapid current of the Missouri. It was understood at the time that liberal encouragement had been given by the War Department to aid these boats, that, incidentally, the great question might be solved, whether the Missouri river could be navigated by steam.

The scientific corps under Major Long, returned from their tour of exploration up the Missouri to the Yellow Stone, to St. Louis, the latter part of October.

According to a report made to the House of Representatives by the committee on Military Affairs, the following winter, it was contemplated by the administration to establish a post at the Mandan villages; that the expense of the Yellow Stone expedition, "over and above what the troops would have cost had they remained in their former positions," was estimated at \$64,226. We suppose this included the steamboat effort to the Council Bluffs, which proved a failure. One boat reached the vicinity of Cote Sans Dessein; another lay by at Old Franklin; and a third ascended to the mouth of



Grand River. In the end, the military stores were transported on keel-boats. These boats returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1820.

The expenses were heavy. A member of the committee on Military Affairs, at the session of 1819-'20, stated that the claims for detention of the boats, and the losses, exceeded a million of dollars. The Secretary of the War Department had projected the establishment of a military post at or below the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and a series of military roads to connect that post by St. Peters and the northern lakes, which Congress refused to sanction, by withholding the necessary appropriations.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### MISCELLANEOUS AFFAIRS.

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#### SECTION FIRST.

##### *Banks and Banking.*

We have given, in connection with Territorial Legislation, a sufficient sketch of some banks in Missouri and Illinois.—The Annals, [pp. 653, 654, and 657 to 658,] gives an outline of the early banking institutions in Ohio. A communication from John B. Dillon, of Indiana, since this work was put in press, states, that the "Bank of Vincennes" was chartered in 1814, to continue until 1835; capital stock not to exceed \$500,000. The "Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Indiana," was chartered the same year; capital stock not to exceed \$750,000; to expire January, 1835. These, with a multitude of other banks, in this valley, expired for lack of means to pay their debts, long before the charters terminated.

At the close of the war of 1812-'15, there were two banks in Kentucky; the "Insurance Company," and the "State Bank" and branches.

A "State Bank" in those days, was understood to mean a chartered bank, owned chiefly by stockholders, in which the State had an interest, appointed a portion of the directorship,



and had some supervision over its affairs. Such were the State Banks of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and many others. From 1815 to 1818, not only chartered banks in Ohio, Indiana, and probably in other States, but unchartered companies, sent out a large amount of bills as a circulating medium. Even individuals issued their tickets of "promise to pay." The country was flooded with worthless paper.

So much apprehension was excited in the minds of the people, and so much spurious currency was imposed on them, that as early as 1816, the Convention of Indiana restricted the banking system in the new State, to the charter of a single *State Bank*, with branches.

Illinois adopted the same feature in its constitution in 1818, and in 1820, Missouri adopted a similar restriction.

This, though it checked, did not cure the evil. The Legislature of Kentucky, in 1816 or 1817, chartered forty-seven "Independent Banks," as they were named, which soon sent forth a spurious currency into the remotest settlements.

In 1818, a reaction commenced; the bills of such banks as the Treasury Department had selected as depositories of the government funds, were current in the Land Offices. The rapid influx of immigration, and the demands for land, absorbed a large proportion of this class of bills, while the floating paper of the other banks depreciated, until it was no longer current.

By 1820, the reaction was complete; the "Deposit Banks" failed, with heavy defalcations to the public treasury. The people were in debt; creditors were clamorous for their dues; the circulating medium, that could be turned into specie, had vanished; and legislation was sought for relief.

A bank was incorporated by the Legislature of Illinois, on the 22nd of March, 1819, by the style of the "President, Directors and Company of the State Bank of Illinois," to continue for twenty-five years, with a capital not exceeding four millions of dollars, one half of which was to be subscribed by individuals, and the other half by the State, when "the Legislature thereof should deem proper." Books were to be opened in divers towns, and if stock was ever subscribed, not a dollar was paid. The mountain was not even a mole-hill, but it gives an illustration of the extravagant folly in legislation at that period.





The next General Assembly, at the session of 1820-'21, repealed this mammoth charter; a way had been discovered to create money without capital. Another bank was chartered, in which specie had no concern, with a capital of \$500,000, *on State credit*; the stock to be raised and managed by State Directors, under the supervision of the Legislature. Three hundred thousand dollars, in paper currency, were to be emitted, loaned on real estate at two-thirds the appraised value, or on personal security, not exceeding one hundred dollars to individuals. No individual could obtain over one thousand dollars on landed security. The interest was six per cent.; the bills drew a credit of two per cent. per annum, and the institution was to run ten years; and, if its projectors were to be credited in their fancies, it would produce an increase in that period sufficient to redeem all the bills issued, pay all contingent expenses, and yield a net profit to the State of one hundred thousand dollars, at the expiration of its charter. All turned out as "the baseless fabric of a vision."

The bills went down — down — down, to thirty-three cents on the dollar; the real estate of borrowers, previously inflated by a spurious currency, went down in a greater ratio; — lands that had sold for ten dollars per acre, fell to two and three dollars; town lots in villages, actually sunk one thousand per cent.; and "fancy towns," on paper, became wholly valueless. At the expiration of the charter in 1831, when the bills had to be redeemed, there was no alternative to save the sinking credit of the State, but to contract a cash loan to redeem the out-standing bills of *one hundred thousand dollars*. — This was the commencement of the debt of that State, and has been designated as the "Wiggins' Loan," from the gentleman who negotiated the stock.

This was not the worst feature in the concern. Provision was made for the creditor to receive the paper for his dues, else the debtor could replevy for three years. Such laws, with "stay-laws," and "valuation laws," prevailed throughout the western States.

The Legislature of Missouri, in June, 1821, established a "*Loan Office*," and branches — the same thing as the Illinois Bank, under another name. The bills were called "certificates," of which two hundred thousand dollars were issued, with the same appendages of "replevy" and "valuation"



laws, and nearly the same results; except at an early period, the judiciary of that State decided the concern to be unconstitutional.

We have no space to appropriate to a sketch of the "Wild Cat" banks of Wisconsin and Michigan, nor are we as well versed in the history of their institutions, as in those more directly under our observation.

One general feature existed in most of the earlier banks in the west, that pretended to be instituted on a specie basis. The term used in this country at the time, expresses the idea. They were *shingled* over the country. One bank was made the basis of another, and that of a third, and that of a fourth; consequently, when the foundation gave way, the whole went with a crash. The modern policy of hauling boxes or kegs of specie, from one bank to another, was not then invented; or, more correctly, they had not specie enough to bear transportation. Two or three shrewd agents and directors, would gather up a few thousand dollars in specie, for stock honestly paid in, while the "knowing ones" would bring their "shingles," from a neighboring bank; the bills, or stock of which was counted as so much capital paid in.

In the session following, 1835, another "State Bank" was chartered by the Legislature of Illinois, supposed to be well guarded, and on a specie basis. Had it not been made the fiscal agent of the State, and crushed to death by the "monster Internal Improvement system," it might have survived the tremendous crash of credit and values. But it died in 1842, in a hopeless struggle to sustain the credit of the State. Since that period, Illinois has had no banking institution.

The Bank of the State of Missouri went into operation, under stringent regulations, in 1837, and continues in good credit in 1850.

## SECTION SECOND.

### *Illinois and Michigan Canal.*

In Niles' Register, volume sixth, page 394, may be found the earliest suggestion of a canal from Lake Michigan to the navigable waters of the Illinois river, that we have found in print. The date is August 6th, 1814, in time of the war, and is a paragraph from a series of editorial articles, on the great importance, in a national point of view, of the States and Ter-



ritories of this now great central valley. We give the extract.

"By the Illinois river, it is probable that *Buffalo*, in New York, may be united with *New Orleans*, by inland navigation, through lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, and down that river to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of *Europe*, compared with *this* water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may be easily made,) the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions."

We have already noticed that Governor Bond, at the first session of the General Assembly, in 1818, brought this subject before that body, in his Inaugural message.

He suggested an early application to Congress for a certain per centage from the sales of the public lands, to be appropriated to that object. In his valedictory message, in December, 1822, he again refers to this subject and to his first address, and states:—

"It is believed that the public sentiment has been ascertained in relation to the subject, and that our fellow-citizens are prepared to sustain their representatives in the adoption of measures subservient to its commencement."

His successor, Governor Coles, in his Inaugural, (December 5th, 1822,) devotes four pages to this subject, refers to an act of the preceding Congress, which "gave permission to the State to cut a canal through the public lands, connecting the Illinois river with Lake Michigan, and granting to it the breadth of the canal, and ninety feet on each side of it."

With this was coupled the onerous conditions "that the State should permit all articles belonging to the United States, or to any person in their employ, to pass toll free for ever."—The Governor, who was a zealous and liberal advocate for an economical and judicious system of Internal Improvements, proposed to create a fund from the revenues received for taxes on the military bounty lands; from fines and forfeitures; and from such other sources, as the Legislature in its wisdom, might think proper to set apart for that purpose. He also urged the importance of an opening through Indiana and Ohio, with Lake Erie, by improving the navigation of the Wabash and Maumee rivers, and connecting them by a canal, to which



objects he proposed the Illinois Legislature should invite the special attention of those States, and co-operate so far as jurisdiction extended. . He further proposed the examination and surveys of the rivers and the canal route in Illinois; and to memorialize Congress for a liberal donation of land, in opening the projected lines of communication.

An act for the improvement of the internal navigation of the State, and a memorial to Congress on the subject, were passed by the Legislature during the session. This act, (which was approved February 14th, 1823,) provided for a Board of Commissioners, whose duties were to devise and adopt measures to open a communication, by canal and locks, between the navigable waters of the Illinois river and Lake Michigan; to cause the route to be explored, surveys and levels to be taken, maps and field books to be constructed, and estimates of the costs to be made; and to invite the attention of the Governors of the States of Indiana and Ohio, and through them the Legislatures of those States, to the importance of a canal communication between the Wabash and Maumee rivers.

Thomas Sloo, Jr., Theophilus W. Smith, Emanuel J. West, and Erastus Brown, were elected Commissioners. Mr. Sloo was from Hamilton county, and Messrs. Smith, West and Brown, from Madison county.

At that period Sangamon river, and Fulton county, were the boundaries of settlements. A military and trading post existed at Chicago; a dozen families, chiefly French, were at Peoria. The northern half of Illinois was a continuous wilderness; or, as the universal impression was, an interminable prairie, and uninhabitable for an age. Morgan county, then including Scott and Cass counties, had about seventy-five families; and Springfield was a frontier village, of a dozen log cabins.

A portion of the Commissioners, with the late Colonel Justus Post, of Missouri, as their engineer, made an exploratory tour in the autumn of 1823. In the autumn of 1824, Colonel Rene Paul, of St. Louis, was also employed as engineer, with the necessary men to assist in executing the levels, and making the surveys complete. The party was accompanied by one Commissioner. Two companies were organized, and five different routes examined, and the expense estimated on





each. The locks and excavations were calculated on the supposition that the construction was on the same scale of the grand canal of New York, then in process of making. The probable cost of each route, was reported by the engineers; the highest being \$716,110; the lowest, 639,946.

At the next session of the Legislature, an act was passed (January 17th, 1825.) to "incorporate the Illinois and Michigan Canal Company." The capital stock was one million of dollars, in ten thousand shares at one hundred dollars each.\*

The stock not being taken, at a subsequent session the Legislature repealed the charter. During these movements within the State, the late Daniel P. Cook, as the Representative in Congress, and the Senators of Illinois, were unceasing in their efforts to obtain lands from the national government, to construct this work, which all regarded as of pre-eminent national advantage. As the result of these efforts, on the 2nd of March, 1827, Congress granted to the State of Illinois, in aid of this work, each alternate section of land, five miles in width, on each side of the projected canal.

The embarrassments of the State in finance, growing out of the ruinous policy of the State Bank, noticed in the preceding section, prevented any thing being done until January, 1829, when the Legislature passed an act to organize a Board of Commissioners, with power to employ agents, engineers, surveyors, draftsmen, and other persons, to explore, examine, and determine the route of the canal. They were authorized to lay off town sites, and sell lots and apply the funds.

They laid off Chicago, near the lake, and Ottawa, at the junction of Fox river; and the Illinois surveys and estimates were again made, but the project of obtaining a full supply of water on the surface level, was doubtful, and the rock approached so near the surface on the summit level between the Chicago and Des Plaines, as to increase the estimates of cost, and cast doubt on the project.

The subsequent Legislature authorized a re-examination to ascertain the cost of a railway, and whether a supply of water could be obtained from the Calumet for a feeder.

The estimated cost for a railway, with a single track, for ninety-six miles, about one million and fifty thousand dollars..

\*Report of the Canal Commissioners, Vandalia, 1825.



It was a great mistake in the State, not constructing a railway.

At a special session of the Legislature, in 1835-'36, an act was passed authorizing a loan of half a million of dollars for the construction of the canal, and the Board of Commissioners was re-organized, and on the fourth of July, 1836, the first ground was broken.

At the regular session of 1836-'37, the "Internal Improvement" system became the absorbing topic, the canal was brought under the same influence; loans, to a vast extent, were created for both objects: and the most extravagant expectations were raised, but never realized.

The sole reliance of the State was on loans, without any finances of its own, or any means to pay annual interest and liquidate the principal. As a financial measure, the canal loans were distinguished from the Internal Improvement and other loans, but all failed with the credit of the State, before 1842.

Contracts were made, and the work on the scale projected, made progress until over five millions of dollars had been expended, and the work remained unfinished. The credit of the State having sunk so, that no further loans could be obtained, the contractors were obliged to abandon their contracts, with heavy claims against the State; and in 1843, a law was passed to liquidate and settle the damages, at a sum not exceeding two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The Board of Commissioners was dissolved, and the works remained in the same state for two years.

The session of 1843-'44, adopted a plan to complete the canal, by making the "shallow cut," or relying on the streams for water, without excavating six feet below the lake level, as had been projected and partially worked, and drawing supplies from that source. About sixteen hundred thousand dollars would complete the work on this plan. The resources were about 230,000 acres of land; several hundred city and village lots; the water power along the whole line; a balance due the canal fund for lands and lots sold; and the canal tolls. All these resources were considered ample to complete the work, pay interest on the loans, and eventually redeem the stock, provided additional funds could be obtained.

A proposition was made and accepted by the stockholders, a



Board of Joint Trustees were appointed, and one million six hundred thousand dollars advanced. The whole work was completed in 1848; regular business was commenced, and has increased in a larger ratio than any of the estimates.

We have given only some of the prominent facts in the history of this great enterprize. Were we to enter into details, it would be a volume by itself.

Of the monster "Internal Improvement" system, which brought one of the heaviest calamities on the State, but from which its recuperative energies are slowly recovering, we have no space for particulars. From 1835 to 1840, the popular mind through the United States, passed through a species of mania. Men, who were shrewd, clear-headed, and safe calculators, became incapable of reasoning correctly in financial matters. The Legislature of Illinois, as did other Legislative bodies, labored and acted under a singular hallucination. A minority resisted; a prominent leader of which, the late General J. J. Hardin, was among the number that opposed the "splendid project." The law passed; ten millions of dollars were to be loaned and applied to various lines of railroads, and river improvements, and appropriations made for the same. The railroads extended like checker-work over the State; every one of which was planned, and estimates made by the committee on the copy of a sectional map of the State, just published, and which had reached the seat of government. The whole length of the railroads to be made, was one thousand three hundred and forty-one miles. Extravagant as was this scheme, loans were negotiated to an amount exceeding five millions of dollars, and the money thrown away. The whole system went down about 1841, increasing the demands against the State, (including accumulations of interest due,) to an amount exceeding fifteen millions of dollars. Great as this burden may appear to others, Illinois has resources, and has made provision to liquidate this heavy debt. The canal stock includes a moiety of this debt, and its resources and income will absorb that portion. The State has other resources. But in making a new constitution in 1847, which was adopted by a vote of the people, in March, 1848, a section providing a special tax of two mills on the dollar of the civil list, was adopted by a separate vote of the people, by more than ten thousand majority. This income is applied



to the extinguishment of the principal of this debt; and we think it is the first instance in which the people, by a direct vote, have solemnly declared they will tax themselves to pay an old debt.

### SECTION THIRD.

#### *Slavery in Illinois.*

We have already mentioned, [Appendix, 673,] that Renault brought five hundred slaves to Illinois, from St. Domingo.—These became the progenitors of that class of the African race, which, in the statute books and census of Illinois, were called “French slaves.” Before Renault returned to France, in 1744, he sold the interest he, or the company with which he had been connected, had in slaves to the French colonists.—A portion of this class were taken across the Mississippi to Upper Louisiana, and some to the lower province, on the cession of the country to the British Government. [Appendix, 693.] Those who remained in the Illinois country, held their slaves by virtue of the treaty of cession, which secured to the inhabitants the possession of their entire *property*, and a guarantee of all their *rights*. Slavery, then, existed by law in all the British colonies.

The edict of Louis XIII., of France, dated the 23d of April, 1815, and re-enacted by Louis XV., 1724, contained the laws and regulations concerning slavery in Louisiana.\* To this document we refer our readers.

The conquest of the country by Clark, in 1778, brought the subject under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and in its transfer to the Continental Congress, in 1784, the same relationship of property was secured.

The ordinance of 1787, was prospective, and has been so decided by the courts. The question whether the descendants of those who were slaves in 1787, could be held in servitude, on the ground of a “vested right,” remained open, until 1845, when, by a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, it was decided they were free. The new constitution adopted by the people in March, 1848, put an end to involuntary servitude in every form in Illinois.

The operation of the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the North-Western territory, was a subject of complaint

\* See Dillon's *Indiana*, i. pp. 46, 55.





by a very few interested persons, who, by memorials to Congress, made efforts to obtain a removal of the restriction for a limited period. The first petition was from four persons in Kaskaskia, in 1796, asking that slavery might be tolerated there. In 1804, a Convention was held on the subject at Vincennes, to deliberate on "territorial interests," of which Governor Harrison was President. One object was to obtain a modification of the organic law. A memorial was sent to Congress, which was referred to a committee in the House; the Chairman was the late Mr. Rodney; the Report recommended that the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, "be suspended, in a qualified manner, for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves born in the United States," etc.

It was not passed.

At the session of the Territorial Legislature of 1806-'7, a series of resolutions were adopted and reported to Congress, by the late Judge Parke, then Delegate. At that time, Jesse B. Thomas was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Pierre Menard President *pro. tem.* of the Council; both citizens of that part of the territory, now included in the State of Illinois. There were seven resolutions, of which six were reported to Congress as if passed *unanimously*. We have the best authority for saying this was a clerical error; the late John Messenger, of Illinois, and the recent correspondence of John B. Dillon, Esq. A resolution was reported by the committee to which they were referred, in favor of a suspension of the sixth article of the ordinance for ten years, and lost in the House.\*

This movement produced a political re-action in the territory. The opponents of the measure brought out as a candidate for Congress, Jonathan Jennings, and elected him over the opposite candidate, and continued him by successive re-elections until the State Government was formed, when he was elected Governor, and continued in that office until 1822. The number of slaves reported by the census of 1800, in Indiana, (including Illinois,) was 133; in 1810, 237; in 1820, 190; in 1830, *none*. In 1810, Illinois had 168 slaves; in 1820, 917; in 1830, 746.†

\* American State Papers, xx. 473. Speech of Mr. Burt, Congressional Globe. Appendix, January, 1847, p. 117.

† American Almanac, 1832, p. 258, 261.



To avoid the restriction in the organic law, the territory of Indiana passed an act (September 17, 1807,) entitled "*An Act concerning the Introduction of negroes and mulattoes into this Territory.*" It legalized the introduction of that class of persons, (who were slaves in the States or Territories,) into that territory, by requiring the owner, or possessor, to enter into indentures with his slave, to serve for a stipulated period as an indentured servant, and then become free. A record of this must be made in the Court of Common Pleas, within thirty days after the introduction of the slave or slaves. Children under fifteen years of age, were required to serve their former owner or possessor — males, until thirty-five years of age, and females until thirty-two years of age. This class were termed "Indentured servants." Many slave-holders from Virginia, Kentucky and other States, who desired to relieve themselves from the ownership of slaves, migrated and availed themselves of this law. This form of servitude has been removed by judicial decisions in Indiana, and by the new constitution in Illinois.

For several years after the war, persons migrated to Illinois, with the view of emancipating their slaves. Of these instances, the one most deserving of note, is that of Edward Coles, afterwards Governor of the State. Mr. Coles was born in Albemarle county, Va., December 15th, 1786.—His father was a rich planter, with a large number of slaves, but having ten children, the amount of property received by each child was not large. Edward received for his share a plantation and about twenty slaves;—the slaves constituting about one-third of his estate. It was in William and Mary college, under the tuition of the late Bishop Madison, he received the conviction of the wrong and impolicy of negro slavery—and he then formed the resolution, that should he come into possession of this species of property, he would emancipate them. Mr. Coles became Private Secretary for President Madison, and remained six years an inmate of his family. He was then sent on a special mission to Russia, as the bearer of dispatches to the American Minister, the late J. Q. Adams, during which he made the tour of Europe. On his return, he effected a sale of his plantation, and removed his slaves to Illinois, in 1819, purchased 160 acres of land for each family, and superintended their settlement in the vicini-



ty of Edwardsville. Soon after, he was appointed by President Monroe, Register of the Land Office in Edwardsville, where, in 1821, we had the pleasure of forming his acquaintance, which ripened into intimacy. He was elected Governor of the State in 1822; and, as it turned out, at a most important crisis.

In the election of that year, in some of the extreme southern counties, the question of opening the State for the introduction of slavery was discussed. But in the Legislature the succeeding winter, it assumed an alarming attitude in politics.

The old constitution provided for alterations only in one mode. A vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly could authorize the people to vote for or against a Convention, at the next election. If a majority of votes was in favor, the subsequent Legislature was required to order an election for members to the Convention, and appoint the time of meeting, the apportionment to be in ratio to the members in both houses of the General Assembly.

At that period, the progress of the population northward, had rendered this apportionment peculiarly unequal, and the strong hold of the advocates of slavery was in the counties near the Ohio river; and in the old French settlements. It was demonstrated, that on a contingency, one-fourth of the votes of the people could elect a majority in a Convention, and that majority might probably be in favor of opening the State for slavery. Hence it became a paramount object of the opponents of the measure, to defeat the Convention.

After several efforts, it was found the constitutional majority in the Legislature was lacking by one vote. A contested election, of a perplexing and complicated character, had come from Pike county, then including all the territory north and west of the Illinois river, and, at the early part of the session, was decided in favor of Mr. Hanson; but some members who were opposed to a Convention, conscientiously gave their votes for the contestant, Mr. Shaw. After a stormy session of about ten weeks, the Convention party adopted the desperate alternative of a reconsideration, and turned out Hanson, and put in Shaw. This turned the scale, and the vote recommending the people to vote for or against a Convention, was carried. A number of the members of both



Houses entered their solemn protest against both the object, and the measures to obtain it.

The resolution passed both Houses but a short time before the adjournment, February, 1823. But one of the four papers in the State—the “*Edwardsville Spectator*,” by Hooper Warren—at that time took a stand decided against slavery and a Convention.

Elections were biennial, and, the question had to be decided on the first Monday in August, 1824; the contest was spirited. The people, who were opposed to the introduction of slavery, became aroused; public meetings were held; and societies organized for “the prevention of slavery in Illinois.” The first move was made in the county of St. Clair, where the Convention party were strong, and led by some of the strongest political men in the State. A county society was organized, officers appointed, an address to the people of Illinois was published, and an invitation made to form societies in other counties. Fourteen similar societies were organized in as many counties, and a correspondence established in them through persons who could be trusted, in every county and election precinct. This system was in full operation before August, and a year remained to gather strength. The opposite party relied on quiet and concealed operations. Many denied, and doubtless honestly thought, the introduction of slavery was not the object; that there were objectionable features in the constitution, that should be removed. In the counties north of the road from St. Louis to Vincennes, very little was said by this party in favor of slavery, except to ward off the charges made by their opponents. The members of the preceding Legislature, who had protested against the Convention question, contributed each fifty dollars from their wages, to meet expenses in printing and circulating papers. The Governor was in the opposition, and at once resolved to expend his four years’ salary in the contest, and nobly did he redeem the pledge.

The summer and autumn wore away, and the Convention party had no regular organization. The time appointed for rallying the leaders and acting in concert, was in December, at the session of the Supreme Court in Vandalia. The paper at that place, that performed the public printing, was their strong garrison, so far as newspaper armor was concerned.—





On the morning of their meeting, this citadel surrendered to their opponents, hoisted the anti-Convention flag, and prepared to pour grape shot into their ranks, in the form of newspaper bullets. Governor Coles had purchased an interest in the press; David Blackwell, Esq., of Belleville, had been appointed Secretary of State, to fill a vacancy, and conducted the paper as editor. From that time until August, the contest was carried on vigorously by both parties, and finally decided against a Convention, by about 1800 majority. The number of votes given in the State, was nearly 12,000.

During the contest it was anticipated that an indirect influence out of the State, would be exerted to gain the question. All such extraneous influence the opponents resisted. Of the members of Congress, Governor Edwards and Daniel P. Cook were strong in the opposition, and each wielded a vigorous pen in the cause.

In six months after, the question was settled; a politician who was in favor of the introduction of slavery in the State, WAS A PAPA AVIS.

#### SECTION FOUR.

##### *The Monks of La Trappe.*

We refer to this Order, not for any religious purposes, but because they had a residence in the United States, from 1804 to 1813, and in the American bottom, in Illinois, from 1810. The Monastery of this Order, was anciently situated in the Province of Perche, in France, in one of the most solitary spots that could be chosen. It was founded in 1140, under the patronage of Rotrou, Count of Perche. They were a branch of the Order of Cistercian monks. Their Monastery had fallen into decay, and their rigid discipline much relaxed, when the Order was reformed by the Abbe Rance, in 1664.—Rance was a gay man of the world, but meeting with a sudden misfortune—some authors say the infidelity of his wife,—others assert the sudden death of Madame Montbazon, whose favorite lover he had been;—he renounced the world, entered this Monastery, and took the lead in a system of most severe austerity. Perpetual silence was the vow; every comfort of life was rejected, and a stone was his bed; bread and water his only food; and every day a handful of earth was removed from his grave.



The furious storm of the French revolution, scattered the Trappists. A branch of the Order came to the United States, in 1804, first established themselves near Conewango, in Pennsylvania; then in Kentucky; next at Florissant, in St. Louis county;—and finally, in 1810, on a farm and a high mound in the American bottom, near the boundary line of St. Clair and Madison counties. Colonel N. Jarrot, of Cahokia, gave them the use of a farm and other accommodations in Illinois.

Here they lost two priests and five lay-brothers of the Order. The climate and situation were not congenial to the rigid austerities enjoined by the Order.

They cultivated a garden, repaired watches, and traded with the people, but were generally filthy in their habits, and extremely severe in their penances and discipline. In 1813, they sold off their personal property, and left the country for France.\*

We add to this section an item overlooked in its proper connection. "Father Meurain died at Prairie du Rocher, in the year 1778. He was the last of the Jesuits in this country. He was ordered home; but at the request of the Indians he returned, and was their Father-confessor. He was a very learned man, and has left a valuable library, and a manuscript dictionary of the Indian and French languages, in twenty-four volumes. He was a Missionary to the Illinois Indians, and was respected and beloved by them, as a very pious and faithful Missionary."†

The two last Jesuit Missionaries at Mackinaw and L'Abre Croche, were Fathers Le Franc and Du Jauny, who were sixty years in the country.

\* Breckenridge's Louisiana,—Spalding's History of Catholic Missions in Kentucky;—Beck's Gazetteer, p. 439.

† Morse's Indian Report, Appendix, p. 244.



## CHAPTER VII.

## SECTION FIRST.

*The Black Hawk War.*

As this portion of Illinois history has been much misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented in several publications, we shall give the facts of the case, but in a very condensed form :

1st. The Sauks and Foxes had no original right, in the Indian sense even, to any portion of Illinois. They were intruders on the country of the Santeurs and Ioways. [Appendix, 713.]

2nd. The head chiefs sold their claim to their lands in Illinois and southern Wisconsin, to the United States, in 1804.\* [Annals, 546.]

3rd. This treaty was violated by all that portion of the united tribes, which committed hostilities against the United States, and joined the British during the war. The portions of the tribes that remained peaceable, re-confirmed the treaty of 1804, at Portage des Sioux, September 13th, 1815. The hostile part of the nation, in 1816, professed repentance for their misdeeds, obtained forgiveness, and the treaty of 1804 was again renewed and re-enacted. [Annals, 648, 651.]

4th. Black Hawk never was a chief; never recognized as such by Indian authority, or by the United States. He was a *brave*, in Indian parlance, gathered around him a small party of disaffected spirits, refused to attend the negotiations of 1816; went to Canada, proclaimed himself and his party British subjects, and received presents from that quarter.

5th. Another treaty was made in full council, "with the chiefs, warriors, and head men of the Sac and Fox tribes," at Fort Armstrong, [Rock Island,] September 3rd, 1822, by the agent of the United States, in which the treaty of 1804, is referred to and ratified. And still another treaty was made by ten regularly delegated chiefs and head men, and Governor Clark on the part of the United States, in Washington City,

\* Indian Treaties.



the 4th of August, 1824. In this treaty they sell, for a valuable consideration, all their title to the northern portion of the State of Missouri, from the Mississippi to the western boundary of that State. At this treaty the United States granted the strip of country between the Mississippi and Desmoines river, to certain half-breeds of that nation. And on all the lands they had claimed *south and east* of this line, they are not to be permitted to settle or hunt, after the first day of January, 1826.

6th. In the treaty of 1804, the Sauks and Foxes were permitted to reside and hunt on the land sold, while it remained the property of the United States.

Writers, and especially Brown, [History of Illinois, *note*, p. 380,] have retained the story of Black Hawk, and by this means misrepresented this whole business. Brown has given Indian speeches, in place of authentic public documents and treaties. Drake, in his "*Book of the Indians*," in many respects a valuable antiquarian work, has made great mistakes.\* This work abounds with errors, concerning the causes and the management of the Black Hawk affair.

7th. Another treaty was held at Prairie du Chien, in 1825, with the Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Chippeways, Sioux, and other North-western Indians. The object was to settle the long existing hostilities among these tribes, in which the United States Government exercised the office of mediator. In 1827, a party of twenty-four Chippeways, on a visit to Fort Snelling, was attacked by a band of Sioux, and eight of their number killed and wounded. The commander at Fort Snelling caused four of the Sioux, who had committed this murder, to be delivered to the Chippeways, by whom they were shot. Red Bird, a Sioux chief, determined to retaliate, and got defeated. Being derided by his own nation, he resolved to attack the white people, whom he regarded as allies of the Chippeways; and on the 27th of July, two men in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien, were killed and a third wounded. At the same period hostile demonstrations were made by some Winnebagoes, and Black Hawk's party of the Sauks, in the vicinity of the lead mines, which caused much alarm. About the 28th of July, two keel-boats, conveying military stores to Fort Snelling, were attacked by hostile Sioux, Winnebagoes

\* Book v. chapter viii. pp. 141 to 165.





and Sauks, two of their crew were killed and four wounded. The party was commanded by Red Bird, but Black Hawk was of the party. General Atkinson marched a detachment of troops into the Winnebago country, captured Red Bird and six other Indians, and committed them to prison in Prairie du Chien, for trial. Red Bird died in prison. A part of the others were convicted and executed in December, 1828.

About this year, the President issued a proclamation, according to law, and the country about the mouth of Rock River, which had been previously surveyed, was sold, and the year following, was taken possession of by American families. Some time previous to this, after the death of old Quashquame, Keokuk was appointed chief of the Sauk nation.—The United States gave due notice to the Indians to leave the country, east of the Mississippi, and Keokuk made the same proclamation to the Sauks, and a portion of the nation, with their regular chiefs, with Keokuk at their head, peaceably retired across the Mississippi. Up to this period, Black Hawk continued his annual visits to Malden, and received his annuity for allegiance to the British government. He would not recognize Keokuk as chief, but gathered about him all the restless spirits of his tribe, many of whom were young, and fired with the ambition of becoming “braves,” and set up himself for a chief.

Black Hawk was not a Pontiac, or a Tecumthe. He had neither the talent or the influence to form any comprehensive scheme of action, yet he made an abortive attempt to unite all the Indians of the west, from Rock River to Mexico, in a war against the United States.

In the memoir he dictated, and Leclair wrote, he states, [p. 97,] “runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red River and Texas,—not on the subject of our lands, but on a secret mission, which I am not, at present, permitted to explain.” The mission was no secret when the memoir was written. It was to arouse up the Indians to attack the white settlements, through the long line of frontier, at the same time.

Still another treaty, and the seventh in succession, was made with the Sauks and Foxes, on the 15th of July, 1830, in which they again confirmed the preceding treaties, and promised to remove from Illinois to the territory west of the Mississippi. This was no new cession, but a recognition of



the former treaties by the proper authorities of the nation, and a renewed pledge of fidelity to the United States.

During all this time Black Hawk was gaining accessions to his party. Like Tecumthe, he, too, had his Prophet—whose influence over the superstitious savages, was not without effect.

In 1830, an arrangement was made by the Americans, who had purchased the land above the mouth of Rock River, and the Indians that remained, to live as neighbors; the latter cultivating their old fields. Their enclosures consisted of stakes stuck in the ground, and small poles tied with strips of bark transversely. The Indians left for their summer's hunt, and returned when their corn was in the milk—gathered it, and turned their horses into the fields, cultivated by the Americans, to gather their crop. Some depredations were committed on their hogs and other property. The Indians departed on their winter's hunt, but returned early in the spring of 1831, under the guidance of Black Hawk, and committed depredations on the frontier settlements. Their leader was a cunning, shrewd Indian, and trained his party to commit various depredations on the property of the frontier inhabitants, but not to attack, or kill any person. His policy was to provoke the Americans to make war on him, and thus seem to fight in defense of Indian rights, and the "graves of their fathers."—Numerous affidavits, from persons of unquestionable integrity sworn to before the proper officers, were made out and sent to Governor Reynolds, attesting to these and many other facts. We have examined these documents, knew, personally some who subscribed to them, and others from good testimony. Black Hawk had about five hundred Indians in training, with horses, well provided with arms, and invaded the State of Illinois with hostile designs. These facts were known to the Governor and other officers of the State. Consequently, Governor Reynolds, on the 28th of May, 1831, made a call for volunteers, and communicated the facts to General Gaines of this military district, and made a call for regular troops.—The State was invaded by a hostile band of savages, under an avowed enemy of the United States. The military turned out to the number of twelve hundred or more, on horseback, and under command of the late General Joseph Duncan, marched to Rock River.



The regular troops went up the Mississippi in June. Black Hawk and his men, alarmed at this formidable appearance, recrossed the Mississippi, sent a white flag, and made a treaty, in which the United States agreed to furnish them a large amount of corn and other necessities, if they would observe the treaty.

In the spring of 1832, Black Hawk with his party again crossed the Mississippi to the valley of Rock River, notwithstanding he was warned against doing so by General Atkinson, who commanded at Fort Armstrong, in Rock Island.—Troops, both regular and militia, were at once mustered and marched in the pursuit of the native band. Among the troops was a party of volunteers under Major Stillman, who, on the 14th of May, was out upon a tour of observation, and close in the neighborhood of the savages. On that evening, having discovered a party of Indians, the whites galloped forward to attack the savage band, but were met with so much energy and determination, that they took to their heels in utter consternation. The whites were 175 in number; the Indians from five to six hundred. Of this party, twenty-five followed the retreating battalion, after night, for several miles. Eleven whites were killed and shockingly mangled, and several wounded. Some four or five Indians were known to be killed. This action was at Stillman's run, in the eastern part of Ogle county, about twenty-five miles above Dixon.

Peace was now hopeless, and although Keokuk, the legitimate chief of the nation, controlled a majority, the temptation of war and plunder was too strong for those who followed Black Hawk.

We now quote from the first edition of the *Annals*, with some emendations:—

On the 21st of May, a party of warriors, about seventy in number, attacked the Indian Creek settlement in La Salle county, Illinois, killed fifteen persons, and took two young women prisoners; these were afterwards returned to their friends, late in July, through the efforts of the Winnebagoes. On the following day, a party of spies was attacked and four of them slain, and other massacres followed. Meanwhile 3000 Illinois militia had been ordered out, who rendezvoused upon the 20th of June, near Peru; these marched forward to the Rock River, where they were joined by the U. States troops, the whole being under command of General Atkinson. Six



hundred mounted men were also ordered out, while General Scott, with nine companies of artillery, hastened from the seaboard by the way of the lakes to Chicago, moving with such celerity, that some of his troops, we are told, actually went 1800 miles in eighteen days; passing in that time from Fort Monroe, on the Chesapeake, to Chicago. Long before the artillerists *could* reach the scene of action, however, the western troops had commenced the conflict in earnest, and before they *did* reach the field, had closed it. On the 24th of June, Black Hawk and his two hundred warriors were repulsed by Major Demint, with but one hundred and fifty militia: this skirmish took place between Rock River and Galena. The army then continued to move up Rock River, near the heads of which it was understood that the main party of the hostile Indians was collected; and as provisions were scarce, and hard to convey in such a country, a detachment was sent forward to Fort Winnebago, at the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to procure supplies. This detachment, hearing of Black Hawk's army, pursued and overtook them on the 21st of July, near the Wisconsin river, and in the neighborhood of the Blue Mounds. General Henry, who commanded the party, formed with his troops three sides of a hollow square, and in that order received the attack of the Indians; two attempts to break the ranks, were made by the natives in vain; and then a general charge was made by the whole body of Americans, and with such success that, it is said, fifty-two of the red men were left dead upon the field, while but one American was killed and eight wounded.

Before this action, Henry had sent word of his motions to the main army, by whom he was immediately rejoined, and on the 28th of July, the whole crossed the Wisconsin in pursuit of Black Hawk, who was retiring toward the Mississippi.— Upon the bank of that river, nearly opposite the Upper Ioway, the Indians were overtaken and again defeated, on the 2nd of August, with a loss of one hundred and fifty men, while of the whites but eighteen fell. This battle entirely broke the power of Black Hawk; he fled, but was seized by the Winnebagoes, and upon the 27th, was delivered to the officers of the United States, at Prairie du Chien.

General Scott, during the months of July and August, was contending with a worse than Indian foe. The Asiatic cholera had just reached Canada; passing up the St. Lawrence to Detroit, it overtook the western-bound armament, and thence forth the camp became a hospital. On the 8th of July, his thinned ranks landed at Fort Dearborn or Chicago, but it was late in August before they reached the Mississippi. The number of that band who died from the cholera, must have been at least seven times as great as that of all who fell in battle. There were several other skirmishes of the troops





with the Indians and a number of individuals murdered; making in all, about seventy-five persons killed in these actions, or murdered on the frontiers.

In September, the Indian troubles were closed by a treaty, which relinquished to the white men thirty millions of acres of land for which stipulated annuities were to be paid; constituting now the eastern portion of the State of Iowa, to which the only real claim of the Sauks and Foxes, was their depredations on the unoffending Ioways, about 130 years since. To Keokuk and his party, a reservation of forty miles square was given, in consideration of his fidelity; while Black Hawk and his family, were sent as hostages to Fort Monroe in the Chesapeake, where they remained till June, 1833. The chief afterwards returned to his native wilds, where he died.

Black Hawk cannot rank with Pontiac or Tecumthe; he fought only for revenge, and showed no intellectual power; but he was a fearless man.

The same disease which decimated General Scott's troops, during the autumn of this year, and the summers of 1833 and 1834, spread terror through the whole west, though during last year it was comparatively mild. We have room to notice only three facts in relation to it; the first is, that other diseases diminished while it prevailed;—the second, that many points which were spared in 1832, (as Lexington, Ky.) were devastated in 1833;—the third, that its appearance and progress presented none of the evidences of infection or contagion.

A visitation less fatal than the cholera, but for the time most disastrous, had come upon the valley of the Ohio in the preceding February. A winter of excessive cold was suddenly closed, by long continued and very heavy rains, which, unable to penetrate the frozen ground, soon raised every stream emptying into the Ohio to an unusual height. The main trunk, unable to discharge the water which poured into it, overflowed its banks, and laid the whole valley, in many places several miles in width, under water. The towns and villages along the river banks, were flooded in some instances so deeply, as to force the inhabitants to take refuge on the neighboring hills;—and the value of the property injured and destroyed must have been very great, though its amount could not, of course, be ascertained. The water continued to rise from the 7th to the 19th of February, when it had attained the height of 63 feet above low water mark at Cincinnati.

#### SECTION SECOND.

##### *Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota.*

Dubuque is the oldest settlement in the State of Iowa, being coeval with Galena, as a village. As a trading post, it is



identified with the Frenchman whose name it perpetuates.—Bellevue and Fort Madison, have already been noticed as military posts.

The subjection of Black Hawk and his hostile party, and the treaty that followed in 1832, opened the extensive tract of country along the Mississippi, to American settlements; and the following spring, companies from Illinois crossed the river, built their cabins, and made improvements for farming early in 1833. The first settlement was in the vicinity of Burlington. Coeval with it, was the settlement near Fort Madison. From this period, the progress and extension of settlements were rapid, and the population increased with far greater rapidity, than in the history of previous territories. For more than eighteen months the people were “a law unto themselves,” being without the jurisdiction of any organized territory. In 1834, Congress attached this territory to that of Michigan, for temporary jurisdiction, and two large counties, Dubuque and Desmoines, were organized. Their aggregate population in 1836, was 10,531 persons, and the same year Wisconsin was organized as a separate territory, and exercised jurisdiction over the “District of Iowa.”

In 1838, we were at Burlington during the session of the Wisconsin Legislature. The official intelligence of the organization of the Territory of Iowa, was received the last of June, and the Legislature finding itself beyond its own jurisdiction, adjourned. The Territorial Government took effect on the 4th of July, 1838. Robert Lucas, a former Governor of Ohio, was the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and James Clark, Secretary of the new Territory.

During that year the territory, which had been subdivided into sixteen counties, had a population of 22,860 persons.

In 1839, the General Assembly located the seat of government, on the river that gives name to the State, and called it the “City of Iowa.” Immigration continued to increase; in 1840 the population was 43,017; while that of the Wisconsin Territory, was 30,945 persons. In 1843, the Territorial Legislature petitioned Congress for authority to adopt a State Constitution, which was granted at the next session, and on the 7th of October, 1844, the Convention assembled and adopted a Constitution, which was not approved by Congress. Another Convention was held 1846, the limits restricted, an



amended Constitution adopted, which was submitted to Congress in June, and the State received into the Union simultaneously with Florida.

Since that period, this State has made rapid progress; several chartered cities exist, containing a population of from 2000 to 5000 inhabitants; the Indian title has been extinguished, and civilization has extended over a large part of its territory.

The population in the autumn of 1849, was estimated at 180,000.

*Wisconsin* has made slower progress, and been longer in the race, but has become a large, thriving and prosperous State. Its oldest settlement is Green Bay. Farming settlements were made contiguous to Galena, during the lead operations already noticed. The Black Hawk war brought the extensive region along the "Four Lakes" and the Wisconsin river, to the knowledge of the pioneers of Illinois, and opened the way for the settlement of that fine country. Soon after, immigration began to flow in from Michigan, Ohio and New York, and the wilderness soon became a fruitful field. As early as 1835, some enterprising persons planted themselves on choice town sites: along the borders of Lake Michigan and Racine, Southport, Milwaukee, Sheboygan, and many other towns have sprung into existence. Milwaukee is a large commercial city, with some 18,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, and commands the trade of an extensive back country.

This territory formed a Constitution in 1846, which was not approved by a large majority of the people. Another Convention was held, and a Constitution framed and adopted, February 1st, 1848, on which the State was received into the Union. The population, taken December 1st, 1847, was 220,867. General Henry Dodge, now a Senator in Congress, was the first Governor of the territory, and, with the exception of four years, held that office during the existence of the Territorial Government. Each of these new States has adopted a system of common schools, which promise a bountiful harvest to future generations.

*Minnesota*, is the new territory lying north of Iowa, and north-west of Wisconsin; was organized in pursuance of a law passed by Congress, March 3rd, 1849, on the first of June the same year. Alexander Ramsey, of Harrisburg, Pa., was



appointed Governor, and issued his proclamation on that day. A census taken in June, showed the white population to be 4,780. An election was held on the first day of August for a Legislative Assembly, and nine members of the Council, and eighteen members of the House of Representatives were elected. The session commenced in the town of St. Paul, on the first Monday in September. H. H. Sibley, is the Delegate in Congress. The message of the Governor is an able document. The town of St. Paul, the present seat of government, commenced as a commercial town in the spring of 1849, and now has a population of 1000, and is a place of much business.

A steamboat is being constructed to run the Mississippi *above* the Falls of St. Anthony, to Crow Wing river, in the year 1850. The hitherto remote military post, called Fort Snelling, established in 1819, will soon be surrounded with civilization and the arts of peace.

The territory has been divided into nine counties, in place of the old counties of La Pointe and St. Croix, that were organized under the territory of Wisconsin. The names are Itasca, Washington, Ramsey, Benton, Pembina, (accent on the last syllable) Mah-kah-to, Wah-nah-tah, Dahkotah, and Wau-bashaw. The counties of Ramsey, Washington and Benton, only had judicial districts in 1849.

The village and settlement of Pembina, was commenced by Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, about 1812. He obtained a grant of land on Red river, from the Hudson Bay Company. Two settlements were formed; one at Fort Douglass, the other higher up, and which proved to be below the 49th degree of latitude, and within the boundary of the United States.— This last settlement was called Pembina, a corruption of an Indian word, that signified a small red berry that grew in that region.\*

In 1823, the settlement consisted of about 350 persons, residing in sixty log houses, or cabins. The fathers were chiefly Swiss and Scotch emigrants, who married Indian wives.† At that period (1822-'23,) droves of cattle were taken from Missouri and Illinois to this colony, and sold at a high price. The colony at Pembina, as it was in 1849, originated from a mixture of nations, as Scotch, English, French, Italians, Germans, and Swiss, amalgamated with Chippeways, Crees, Sioux and other Indian tribes. By the census of 1849, there were in this

\* The Viburnum Oxyococcus.

† Long's Expedition, ii. 41, 45.





settlement, of males 295; females, 342; total, 637. A colony, chiefly French, is situated on the Missouri river.

One of the most important incidents, in both Wisconsin and Minnesota, is the lumber business. Extensive forests of white pine are on the waters of the Wisconsin, St. Croix, and other tributaries of the Mississippi, and mills are in extensive operation on the streams. The lumber manufactured on the St. Croix alone, in 1849, amounted to ten millions of feet, board measure. This business will be a vast source of wealth to the district.

### SECTION THIRD.

#### *Growth of Towns and Cities.*

CHICAGO is one of the important commercial centres of the great central valley, that illustrate the rapidity of progress in population, business, enterprise and wealth. In 1832, it contained five small stores, and 250 inhabitants. The preceding year there were four arrivals, two brigs and two schooners, from the lower lakes, which were sufficient for all the trade and business for North-Eastern Illinois and North-Western Indiana.

In 1835, there were 267 arrivals of brigs, ships and schooners, including nine steamboats. The merchandize imported amounted to 5015 tons, besides 9,400 barrels of salt. The exports of 1843, exceeded one million of dollars; the imports \$1,433, 886. It sustained great depression during the suspension of the canal operations, from 1841 to 1846, and yet its growth continued. A railroad across the State to connect Chicago with Galena, has been put in operation to Fox river, and the work is progressing. The population of Chicago is estimated at 25,000.

There are several important towns along the line, and at the termination of the canal, which we have now no room to particularize. The old village of *Peoria*, was situated one and a half miles above the outlet of the lake. As a French village, it commenced about 1779, and was called *La Ville de Maillet*. The people removed to the "new village" on the present site of *Peoria*, in 1797. After the war, *Fort Clark*, already noticed, was burnt. The situation of *Peoria* is beautiful beyond description, and is a place of business and commerce.

*Springfield*, the seat of government of Illinois, dates back to February, 1822. It is a handsome inland city, of 4000 inhabitants, surrounded with a rich agricultural district. It is connected with the Illinois river, by *Jacksonville*, at *Naples*, by a railroad, and will soon be with *Alton* with one to that place.

*Alton*, after a long period of depression, is now in progress, and bids fair soon to be a place of much commerce.



In Missouri, the progress of settlements, the building up of towns, and the accumulation of agricultural wealth, have been fully equal to any other State in the Union for the last ten years. Jefferson City, the seat of government, was not designed for a commercial depot, but for the capitol and public offices of the State. St. Charles, Booneville, Fayette and Lexington, are incorporated cities. Of late, the rich mines of lead, copper and iron, have attracted the attention of capitalists, and awakened a spirit of enterprise which gives promise of success.

*Governors of the State of Missouri.*—Alexander McNair, from 1820 to 1824; Frederick Bates, from 1824 to 1828; John Miller, from 1828 to 1832; Daniel Dunklin, from 1832 to 1836; Lilburn W. Boggs, from 1836 to 1840; Thomas Reynolds, from 1840 to 1844; John C. Edwards, from 1844 to 1848; Austin A. King, (the present incumbent) from 1848 to 1852.

*Governors of Illinois.*—Shadrach Bond, from 1818 to 1822; Edward Coles, from 1822 to 1826; Ninian Edwards (formerly Governor of the Territory,) from 1826 to 1830; John Reynolds, from 1830 to 1834; Joseph Duncan, from 1834 to 1838; Thomas Carlin, from 1838 to 1842; Thomas Ford, from 1842 to 1846; Augustus C. French, from 1846 to 1848, the office having expired by the adoption of the new Constitution. He was again elected under the new Constitution, and goes out of office in January, 1853.

Governor Edwards of Illinois, died at his residence in Belleville, of the cholera, July 20th, 1833, in the 59th year of his age. The prominent traits of his character were great decision, determined resistless perseverance, quickness in despatch of business, sagacity to the public interest, and a liberal, generous and philanthropic disposition.

Governor Clark of Missouri, died at his residence in St. Louis, on the first day of September, 1838. He was Governor of the Territory from 1813 to 1820, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs to the close of his life. Previously, he had been the companion of Merriwether Lewis, in their tour of exploration to the Pacific ocean. His intimate knowledge of Indian character, and his intercourse with them, won their esteem and confidence. Through a long public life, he maintained a character for strict integrity and unsullied honor.

#### SECTION FOURTH.

##### *Growth of St. Louis.*

ST. LOUIS, for steady progress and successful enterprise, since 1830, has excelled all other cities with which we have been acquainted. There have been periods of pecuniary pressure, but none of prostration. Business, population and wealth, have increased with each revolving year.

In addition to the position of a great seat of commerce and



trade, for an extensive and rapidly improving territory, there are several branches of business that concentrate here. These are the mining business—the Indian fur trade and trapping enterprise;—the Mexican trade;—the frontier military posts and Indian agency;—and lately, the outfit of many thousands of California gold-hunters. In some of these branches, the people in the interior of Missouri have participated. We intended to have amplified each of these items in a series of sketches, but our limits are nearly exhausted.

The fur trade, to a limited extent, was extended high up the Missouri river, before the cession of Louisiana. The average annual value of the furs collected in St. Louis, for fifteen successive years, ending in 1804, is stated to have been \$203,750. James Pursley, in 1802, was the first hunter and trapper, and probably the first American, who traversed the great plains between the United States and New Mexico. The Missouri Fur Company, with a capital of \$40,000, was organized in this city in 1808, and the hunters in its employ, were the first who pitched their camps on the waters of Oregon. That company was dissolved in 1812; the fur trade of the Missouri was prosecuted by Messrs. Chouteau, Berthold, Pratte, Lisa, Cabanne, and others. Messrs. Pilcher, Lisa, Thos. Hempstead, Perkins and others, revived the Missouri Company soon after the war, and carried their enterprise into the defiles of the Rocky mountains.

In 1823, the late General William H. Ashley fitted out his first trapping expedition to the mountains and upon the western waters. He had a severe engagement with the Aricara Indians, in which he lost fourteen men. General Ashley and his men, ascended the Sweet water, *discovered the South Pass*, and thus opened a highway to Oregon and California. In 1824, he extended his exploration and line of trade to the Utah Lake. Between the years of 1824 and 1827, General Ashley and his men sent to St. Louis furs to the value of \$180,000. The annual value of the fur trade alone, for 40 years, has averaged from two to three hundred thousand dollars, and hence an important item in the growth of St. Louis.\*

The Santa Fe trade from Missouri, originated in Franklin, Howard county, where the first enterprise was planned, and an outfit procured in 1822.† This has been since prosecuted with great enterprise and various success from this city.

The United States census of 1840, owing to the very limited bounds of the corporation, and the extension of the streets and blocks of the city beyond, misrepresented the population. The report exhibited only 16,469, whereas the population within the town of St. Louis, was not less than 28,000.

A similar discrepancy will appear in the census of 1850; for although

\* Address of Thomas Allen, at the "Celebration" of St. Louis, February 15, 1847, pp. 16, 18.

† Wetmore's Gazetteer, p. 86.



the corporate boundaries were much extended after 1840, several thousand persons are now living without the city bounds, and will be enumerated with those of the county. On January 1st, 1849, the census, not taken closely, gave 64,000; while in the city and suburbs, there were not less than 73,000 persons. With all the diminution by cholera, the increase in twelve months has been large; and our lowest estimate is 85,000.

Two incidents of the last year, will close the volume.

1. **THE CHOLERA.**—Cases of this fearful disease appeared on boats navigating the lower Mississippi, during the last months of 1848; and an unusual predisposition to diarrhœas, and affections of the bowels, was manifested in St. Louis at the same time. Two cases of cholera, and one death, occurred the first week in January, 1849. According to Dr. McPheters,† there were 38 deaths from cholera in January, (two thirds of the cases being imported from New Orleans,) 30 deaths in March, 18 in April. In the first week in May, there was a fearful increase in the progress of the disease, and of deaths. Deaths from all diseases, per week, from 118 to 193. Total deaths in May, 786; cholera 517. For two weeks following the great fire, there was a perceptible decrease in the mortality and number of cases. During the first week in June, there were 144 deaths; 74 of cholera. Second week, 283 deaths; 139 of cholera. Third week, 522 deaths; 426 from cholera. Fourth week, 798 deaths; 636 from cholera. From June 26th to July 2nd, 951 deaths; 739 from cholera;—from July 3rd to 9th, 851 deaths; 654 from cholera. From July 10th to the 16th, 888 deaths; 669 from cholera. From July 17th to the 23rd, 440 deaths, 269 from cholera. Last week in July, 231 deaths; 131 from cholera. During the entire year of 1849, the mortality of the city was 8,603; cholera, (according to Dr. McPheters) 4,557. Other reports increase the cholera cases to 4,800. The cholera disappeared (except occasional cases) after the 10th of August. From the first of November, 1849, to the first of April, 1850, unusual health has prevailed for a city population.

2. **THE GREAT FIRE**, broke out on the steamboat *White Cloud*, near the foot of Cherry street, at the hour of 10 o'clock at night, on the 17th of May, 1849. The wind was from a North-Eastern direction, and blew with great force all the night. In a short time 23 steamboats were on fire, and consumed; some with valuable cargoes on board. The fire first caught the stores at the foot of Locust street; then, by another burning boat at the foot of Elm street, and simultaneously two fires were sweeping over several squares; driven by the wind with resistless fury. Massive buildings of brick or stone, three and four stories in height, offered no resistance. The fires from the buildings and the boats, cut off all communication with the river, and by 2 o'clock, A. M., on the 18th, the city reservoir was exhausted. Up to this time, the firemen did all that men and machinery could do, to stop the devouring element. Buildings were blown up, several valuable lives were lost; but about 8 o'clock, A. M., after ten hours devastation, its fury was spent. About 400 buildings were burnt; many of them large wholesale stores. The steamboats, their cargoes, and produce on the landing, were valued at 518,500; buildings, \$602,748; merchandize, \$654,950. Add to furniture, provisions, clothing, etc., and the loss was estimated at \$2,750,000. About two-thirds the value were covered by insurance. The cholera during the summer, was more fatal than the fire, to the business of the city.

And now, as we look over the "burnt district," much the largest proportion is covered with buildings of a superior character; streets are widened, and even naked lots sell higher per linear foot, than they did before the **GREAT FIRE**.

†History of the Epidemic Cholera in St. Louis, in 1849; *Medical and Surgical Journal* for March, 1850.





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